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By

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General Introduction

CHAPTER I

LIFE AND WORKS

Birth and Family : Sir Francis Bacon was born at York House in the Strand, London, on 22nd January, 1561, in the official residence of his father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. It is interesting to note that after two years of his birth queen Elizabeth I acceeded to the throne. Further, he was three years older than Shakespeare. He was the younger son of his father's second marriage. In every respect he was born with a silver spoon in his mouth. He was a nephew of Lord Burghley, the Lord Treasurer. He was the youngest of eight children, six of whom were by a former marriage of his father. Anne Cooke, the second wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, the mother of Francis Bacon, was a very learned lady who had translated into English theological works from Latin and Italian. She was the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, a tutor to King Edward the VI. Possessing parents of such great ability and attainments, Bacon entered life under the most favoured and happy conditions. No wonder that he soon declared that "I have taken all knowledge for my province."

His Education : In the year 1573, when only 13 years of age, he was sent with his brother Anthony to Trinity College, Cambridge. During the period Bacon passed his boyhood under the strict control of his theologian mother. She was a Calvinist. Bacon was dissatisfied with the system of teaching prevailing in the University and criticised strongly the promotion of knowledge on the old orthodox lines. When he left Cambridge in 1576, he had developed a strong belief that, "The system of academic education in England was radically vicious". Compelled by circumstances, he had to join Law. He began his studies at Gray's Inn. He diligently carried out his legal studies and was called to the bar in 1582. He became 'utter barrister'

in 1582, a bencher in 1586, and was sworn 'Queen's Counsel Extraordinary', and 'double reader' in 1600.

His Public Career : Bacon became a member of Parliament as the representative of the Borough of Melcombe Regis in 1584, and of Taunton in 1586. In 1593 he became a Member of Parliament for the county of Middlesex. He sat in every Parliament till his fall. He wanted to attract the Queen's attention by addressing to her a paper in which he pleaded religious tolerance for those who had refused to accept the Anglican rites and ideas in matters of religion. He opened his parliamentary career by opposing the Lords on the question of helping the Roman Catholics.

Bacon and Essex : Lord Burghley, the Treasurer or the Lord Treasurer or the Prime Minister to the Queen as we may call him today, had married the sister of Bacon's mother. In spite of this he would not give much assistance to his nephew, Francis Bacon, for a rise. Therefore, he detached himself from Burghley and strongly supported the policy of Lord Essex, one of the Queen's favourites since 1589. He became closely attached to the Earl of Essex and apparently possessed a deep regard and sincere feelings of friendship for him. From Essex. Bacon received the gift of an estate at Twickenham. Bacon, enjoying the confidence of the Essex, advised him to undertake the suppression of Tyronne's rebellion in Ireland (1598.) In Ireland Essex met with misfortune ; he found himself utterly incapable of controlling the situation and solving Ireland's problem. We must remember here that Essex went to Ireland at Bacon's insistence. Essex returned to England with ignominy and shame in 1599. He was put to trial for his failure in Ireland. During the trial it was Bacon who acted as an assistant to the prosecuting counsel making Essex belief that he was doing so in order to help him. Essex was found guilty of maladministration and was executed. It is said that Bacon hit his friend below the belt; he acted in a thoroughly mean manner. This is one of the darkest blots in the life of Bacon. His defection of his friend has been the subject of great controversy. Whatever it is, Bacon has to share his portion of the blame in the execution of Essex. In the last years of Elizabeth's reign Bacon tried to act the part of a mediator

between the Crown and Parliament. Bacon's brother Anthony d'ed in 1601. For this reason and on account of his heavy debts and expenses, Bacon had to mortgage his Twickenham Park.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, all attempts by Bacon to achieve high offices in the Government failed. He could obtain little advancement due to the jealousy of his near relations, the Cecils. Experiences like these give weight and substance to what Bacon says in his essays about friendship, followers and friends. Note the following words from his essays *Of Envy*:

> "Lastly, near kinsfolk and fellows in office, and those that are bread together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised."

Also note his words from another essay entitled *Of followers and friends*:

> "There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals which was won't to be magnified. That is, is between superior and inferior, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other."

These lines are not mere intellectual exercises. They have come out of the experiences which Bacon was undergoing while trying to gain favour from Queen Elizabeth the First. He could not rise because of jealousy and envy from his near kinsfolk and fellows in office. In this respect his essays are the result of his experiences which he felt on his pulses. Throughout the reign of Queen Elizabeth his near relations, the Cecils. tried to hold as much power and as many offices as they could. The Queen had noticed the attempts of Bacon to rise in office and power, and she use to call him "The Young Lordkeeper".

Bacon and James I: Though Bacon had given much attention to politics, his literary activities had been considerable. In 1597 *The Essays* first appeared. His literary reputation was immediately established. *The Essays* were soon translated into Latin, French, and Italian. But Bacon's ambition for power and office continued to be

strong. In 1592 he had written to Burghley, "I confessed that I have as vast contemplative ends as I have moderate civil ends......". In practice he had not merely moderate civil ends. He was mad after power and office. When James the First acceded to the throne in 1603. Bacon once again made all attempts to gain Royal favour and advancement in life. He planned schemes for the Union of England and Scotland. He spoke eloquently in Parliament to prove that the claims of King and Parliament could be reconciled. All the attempts to gain favour finally brought him success. He received his Knighthood in 1603. In 1607 he became Solicitor-General to Government. Success followed success. In 1612, he was offered to manage Parliament for the King, because many disputes had cropped up since 1610. In 1613 he was promoted to be Attorney-General. It should, however, be noted that during all this period he continued his literary activities. In 1605 he had published his *Advancement of Learning*. In 1612 he brought out the second and enlarged edition of his *Essays*. While seeking civil power, he did not neglect to seek a fortune. He found that the easiest way to become rich was to marry a rich woman. In 1606 he had married Alice Barnham at the age of 40. It was not a marriage for love and happiness, but for fortune. During all this time Bacon continued to aspire for personal advancement. Quite often he sacrificed good principles of life for this purpose ; so much so that at a time he proved false to his dearest friends.

Best Period of his life : Between 1613 and 1620 Bacon enjoyed the height of power. He held one important office after another. He had risen to great power by occupying the highest administrative position in the land. His speeches and literary work had been appreciated by the public. His literary reputation had spread far beyond the limits of his own country. He lived a splendid life, spent money like water, and exercised influence everywhere. To achieve all this he took to any principles, good, bad or mean, that could help him in achieving power and fame. The art of cunning, the practice of simulation and dissimulation, the art of flattery all became important part of his life. Being important parts of his life, they became an

important part of his essays. Note the following words :

> "Men in Great Place are thrice servants ; servant of the Sovereign or State, servants of fame, and servants of business. So as they have no freedom. neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire to seek power and to lost liberty : or to seek power over others and to lose power over a man's self. The rising unto place is laborious ; and by pains men come to greater pains : and it is sometimes base ; and by indignities men come to dignities."

These are Bacon's words from his essay *Of Great Place*. During all these years Bacon had been trying to seek power over others and he had seen during this process that he lost his own liberty and lost powers over himself. He had to adopt base means, and by indignities came to dignities. Not only this, in order to become the servant of the King, he also became servants of fame and of business. Along with power, Bacon was fond of show and extravagance in life. After his marriage with Alice Barnham he spent big sums on Verulam House near St. Albans. The completion of this big house, the magnificent furniture and decoration, together with an army of servants put a heavy drain on his purse. The result was that he was often in debt.

Bacon and the Earl of Somerset : In his desire to rise to power, Bacon had already sacrificed the life of Essex. Now the Earl of Somerset was to be his victim. In 1616 he prosecuted the Earl of Somerset for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. Sir Thomas Overbury, the famous author of *Characters* had been imprisoned in the Tower of London on a very trivial and illegal pretext. It is said that he was poisoned to death by the Earl of Somerset, or probably by his newly acquired Countess. The Countess accepted her guilt ; the Earl was adjudged guilty. By special powers of the King both murderers, however, were pardoned but some others were put to death. The Countess and the Earl were imprisoned in the Tower, but released in 1622. Bacon prosecuted Somerset though he had been one of his fast friends. It was for a second time that Bacon enjoyed the luxury of prosecuting an intimate friend.

Bacon, the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Verulam : In 1616, Bacon had become a member of the Privy Council.

In 1617 he had been appointed Lord-Keeper. In 1618 he became Lord Chancellor. He was also raised to the Peereage as Lord Verulam, a title taken from the Latin name of St. Albans. Near St. Albans was situated Bacon's estate of Gorhamgury to which he retired in his later life when he had fallen from all offices. On becoming Lord Chancellor, Bacon became a very obedient servant to the King trying to do all that which pleased His Majesty. After the Earl of Somerset, Villiers, Duke of Bukingham became the new favourite of the King. Naturally, Bacon must please him as well as please the King. The third and final edition of Bacon's Essays was dedicated to him. Not only this, Bacon could temper with justice in order to please Buckingham. It is said that in one case when Buckingham expressed his surprise at a decision in the court by Lord Chancellor, Bacon cancelled it and instituted a new one. Bacon never spared any chance of executing a man of fame and power who could become his rival. When Sir Walter Raleigh returned to be recondemned on the old charge of treason, Bacon spoke very powerfully against him. In 1620 he published the *Novum Organum*. In 1621 he was created Viscount St. Albans.

Bacon's fall and Trial : After having reached the height of fame and power, Bacon had a very sad and miserable downfall. Charges of bribary and corruption were levelled against him. Sir Edward Cook, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, an old enemy of Bacon instigated the House of Commons to order an enquiry into the recent increase of monopoly-patents. Duke of Buckingham, the favourite of the King, had taken the greatest advantage of this increase in monopoly-patents. He made money left and right and Bacon had to suffer the consequences. A Committee from the House of Commons was appointed to enquire into the "The abuses of Courts of Justice". Cook was put incharge of the Commission. It was openly complained that Bacon was in the habit of taking bribes from suitors in his Court. In 1621 charges were sent to the House of Lords by the Commons for investigation. Many accusers were willing to press the charge of bribery against Bacon. A certain person Aubrey testified that he had presented a gift of hundred pounds to his Lordship. Bacon was obliged to

answer to all the charges against him. He acknowledged himself guilty of corruption but asserted that his receiving the gifts did not interfere with justice. He justified many of his acts by saying that he received the gifts always after judgment. Here it should be noted that the giving and receiving of bribes was a normal feature of social morality in the reign of Elizabeth the First. Dr. Abbott, in his very famous book *Life of Bacon* has pointed out that it was a very common custom of the time. Bacon himself said in his defence that he accepted these gifts because of the "Faults of the Time" (*vitia temporis*) and these were not the "faults of the man" (*vitia hominis*). This was hardly a proper excuse. A really great man occupying a great office should not suffer from the faults of the time. He should set examples of morality and noble behaviour.

Bacon was ultimately found guilty. He offered no defence. On May 3, 1621, the following judgment was given by the House of Lords :

(1) "That the Lord Viscount St. Albans, Lord Chancellor of England, shall undergo fine and ransom of forty thousand pounds.

(2) That he shall be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure.

(3) That he shall be for ever incapable of an office or employment in the State of Commonwealth.

(4) That he shall never sit in Parliament, nor come within verge of His Majesty's Court."

He had put his signature to the confession of guilt. When asked whether the signature were his, he replied, "My Lords, it is my act, my hand, my heart ; I beseech your Lordships to be merciful to a broken reed". After a few days of formal imprisonment in the Tower, Bacon was set free by the King and his fine was condoned. As he was not allowed to live near London, he now retired to his country Seal at Gorhamburgh. But it was not till the year before the King's death (1624) that the sentence was completely pardoned and Bacon made a free man. In the year 1623, the Provostship to Eton Colloge became vacant. In-

spite of all humiliation Bacon applied for the post but was unsuccessful.

One thing must be said in defence of Bacon. He was an ambitious man, and in order to fulfil his ambition he found that the King's pleasure was greatest asset. He spent all his energies in pleasing the King and his favourites. Naturally such a course of action requires a lot of money. Like Bacon, many others had adopted the same policy of rising up in the social status. As such giving and receiving of bribes had become a very common practice. Bacon clearly points this out in his essay *Of Great Place*: "Do not only bind thy own hands and thy servants' from taking, but bind the hands of suitors also from offering". And he further suggests as a result of his bitter experiences that "Avoid not only the fault, but the suspicion of corruption". In his own case he could neither avoid the fault nor the suspicion of corruption. But he always felt that, considering the practice of the times, he was right in accepting the gifts. In this spirit he went to the length of saying that he was "The justest Judge that there was in England these fifty years". And it must be said to his credit that he admitted the justice of the sentence passed upon him. In his own words the Judgment given against him was the "justest censure in Parliament that was these two hundred years". In other words Bacon felt that giving and receiving of bribes was wrong, but at the same time he pointed out that one person alone should not be held guilty for it. The whole system should be changed and improved where nobody gives bribe and nobody receives them.

Death. After his retirement at Gorhamburgh in 1622 till 1626 the year of his death, literature and science occupied his life. Even though his health was beginning to fail, devotion to the cause of research and scientific investigation continued. He employed himself in completing his *History of Henry VII* and his Latin translation of *The Advancement of Learning*, called the *De Augmentis*. In 1625, he brought out the third edition of his essays. In pursuit of the scientific researches one day he was out of the house on a snowy day. It was the month of March, 1626. He got down from his carriage, bought a fowl from a cottager, and had it killed

to find out whether after stuffing the body with snow it would preserve the flesh. The experiment cost him his life. He caught a very bad cold. Seized with this cold, he was carried into the house of his friend, Lord Arundel, and put into a damp bed prepared by a servant in his master's absence. He became worse; recovery became impossible. He died on 9th April, 1626 at the age of 65. He was buried in St. Maichael's Church at St Albans.

Thus came to a close one of the most magnificent and strange lives in the History of England. Bacon was great; he had unparalled powers of the mind; his devotion to learning and knowledge was profound; his services to the Crown single-hearted; he had really made all knowledge to be his province. But at the same time he was a man of his times; he flattered when he found it will serve his purpose; he betrayed his friends when he found that it will bring him promotion; he accepted bribes when he found that it was an open practice of his times. So there was a noble, grand and magnificent side of his character; there was also a selfish, mean and ordinary side of his character. Seeing this contrast Pope very correctly remarked:

> "If parts allure thee think how Bacon shin'd
> The wisest, brightest and the meanest of mankind."

Bacon's Works: Today Bacon is primarily known in the literary world because of his Essays. But he wrote widely and some of his deeply philosophical ideas are contained in his other works. Therefore, it is worthwhile to have some idea of what he wrote in his other works besides *Essays*. He started his literary career with many pamphlets on political and religious questions. But these are not at all important. It was his considered opinion that any philosophical work could be written in Latin rather than in English. The result is that most of his works are outside the reach of an average student. Latin is dead and so are his works written in Latin. And yet some knowledge of them will help a reader of Bacon to understand the vastness of Bacon's mind and ideas. In the literary world Bacon is a very controversial and often misunderstood personality. His main literary career may be said to have begun in 1603 and lasted till the year of his death 1626.

His Latin works are very ambitious and he planned them on a big scale. Through them he wanted to expound his philosophical theories and therefore he called them *Instauration Magna*, or the great *Instauration*. This great system was to consist of six parts but the author could complete only a few of them. These six parts can be summarised as under :

(1) The Partitions (*i.e.* division or classification) of the Sciences.

(2) The New Instrument (*Novum Organum*), or Indication regarding the Interpretation of Nature.

(3) Phenomena of the Universe, or a Natural and Experimental History of the foundation of Philosophy.

(4) The Ladder of the Intellect.

(5) Fore-runners or Anticipations of the Second Philosophy.

(6) Second Philosophy or Active Science.

In writing these six parts of his system, Bacon thought that he would be in a position to place before the world all the knowledge available to mankind. Time has proved that it was a tall claim. Of these six parts, part one was to be a history and classification of existing knowledge. This Bacon attempted in his *Advancement of Learning* and later added more to it in his Latin version of the *Advancement of Learning* known as the *De Augmentis*. *Novum Organum* makes the second part of his grand scheme. It includes Bacon's new method or instrument of inductive logic. Bacon thought that this instrument was something very essential that would open the doors of knowledge. The third part of his philosophy was taken up in *Sylba Sylbarum* (forests of forests). This book Bacon wrote at the end of his career, and he died without finishing it. It deals with the phenomena of the Universe. It was written in English and in Latin. The fourth part of his grand system of philosophy called the *Ladder of the Intellect* is an elaboration of the second part called the *Instrument of the Induction*. Here Bacon wanted to give illustrious example of how induction works in practice. The fifth part called the *Antici-*

pations was to put in the form of a long list a number of truths already discovered. This catalogue of truths was to serve as a foundation to anticipate new discoveries. The sixth part called the *Second Philosophy* was to examine nature by a full discovery of the forms of things mentioned in the *Advancement of Learning*. Only a small part of this ambitious plan could be completed. Bacon's energies and time were mostly spent on the affairs of the State. In short his system of philosophy, consisting of six parts, was to deal with (1) existing knowledge and old discovery in Nature and (2) examination and discovery of fresh truths in Nature by the new method called Induction. Let us now consider the works of Bacon individually.

The Advancement of Learning: *The Advancement of Learning* is Bacon's first major work. It was published in 1605. It is in two books. It at once placed Bacon in the front rank among writers and thinkers of the time. Of all contemporary books it was one of the finest composition dealing with secular interests. It told man, "How to think of knowledge to impress upon them all that knowledge might do in wise hands for the elivation and benefit of man to warn them against the rocks and shallows of errors and fallacy which beset the course and enquiry, and to alivate the quest of truth, and the acquition of wisdom into the noblest aim and the best assured hope of the human species". Bacon tried to complete the *Advancement of Learning* in a hurry because he wanted to bring it out as soon as possible in order to put it into the notice of the new King, James I. Earlier he had failed to win the favour of Queen Elizabeth the First. Now he did not want to lose the opportunity with James the First who had the reputation of being a scholar. Naturally Bacon opened the first book of the *Advancement of Learning* with an address to the King. He flattered the King by saying that his book will be "A fixed memorial and immortal monument" to the learned King. Knowledge in this book was looked upon as "A rich store-house for the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man's estate". The first book of the *Advancement* was to tell us of the "Excellency of Learning of knowledge". The second book was to describe "the particular acts and works which have been embraced and undertaken for the

advancement of learning". If in the first part he deals with the dignity and influence of learning, in the second he analyses the defects in the particular acts and works taken up by other for the purposes of learning. He examines learning in all its branches to find out how far there is a deficiency in each branch. The *Advancement of Learning* is a great book from the point of view of its prose style. It can be compared with another great book of the time *Ecclesiastical Policy* written by Hocker. But Bacon's prose marks a definite improvement upon Hocker's style. Dean Church in his famous book on Bacon points out that the *Advancement of Learning* is a book which "we can never open without coming on some noble interpretation of the reality of nature or the mind": It may, however, be noted that the book failed to achieve its immediate object, that is of pleasing the King. Any way, it is an important document of Science and Philosophy. It fulfils to a very great extent the claim of Bacon that it was to be a "map" for the guidance of future scientists "in their efforts in discovery and conquers".

Novum Organum: The *Advancement of Learning* was followed by *Vovum Organum.* It was published in 1620. It is nearly all done in Lain, as against the *Advancement of Learning* which was done in English. In writing this work in Latin, Bacon had a definite convinction. He felt that the modern languages of Europe "will at one time or another play the bankrupt with books, and since I have lost much time with this age, I would be glad if God will give me lead to recover it with posterity." This very view led him to translate later on the *Advancement of Learning* into Latin. The term *Novum Organum* means the New Instrument. The word organum is taken from Aristotle's Organon or Instrument of logic was mainly deductive, that is it argued from the universal to the particular. Bacon replaced it by his new instrument, *Novum Organum* or the Inductive Logic where the argument was to proceed from the particular to the universal. Bacon firmly believed that his new instrument of inductive logic was the most suitable for the discovery and interpretation of Nature. When this book was published it was not received with much favour. It was beyond the understanding of many; the King thought "it was like

the peace of God" which passes all understanding. In this book Bacon took a strong stand against the old process of reasoning and previous philosophical methods which were mainly based on deductive logic, insufficient data and hypothesis. The chief merit of this book is that in it Bacon laid the foundation of the inductive methods and emphasised the importance of an objective attitude to Nature for investigation and interpretation of its mysteries. It may however be noted that Bacon was not all correct in repudiating the method of deductive logic. But he was right in as much as he focussed the attention on the importance of inductive logic in the investigation of truth.

De Augmentis Scientiarum : This is the Latin translation of his book *The Advancement of Learning*. It is commonly known as *De Augmentis*. In translating the *Advancement of Learning* into Latin Bacon asserted that the Latin translation of the book "will live." It will be "a citizen of the world, as English books are not." Time has shown how wrong he was in this belief. The English version of the book survives; the Latin translation has become a piece of literary curiosity. The Latin translation appeared in the year 1623.

History of Henry VII : This treatise gives Bacon a fairly high place among the historians of the time. We should remember that when Bacon wrote this book the art of writing history was in its infancy. Scholars had yet to write a critical and objective history. On the whole it can be said to the credit of Bacon that he deals with his subject with a very high sense of accuracy and fidelity to facts. His work, however, is more of a biography than history. The book was actually written to please King James the First who descended from the family of Henry VII. And yet the book is remarkable for its historical sense and fidelity to historical facts. It will be no exaggeration to say that Bacon had dealt his subject in this book in a scientific manner. "This book gives a faithful representation of the character of Henry the Seventh and offers a general outline of the History of the Period.

The New Atlantis : *The New Atlantis* is an unfinished piece of work. It was published after Bacon's death in

1627. It can be rightly called a utopia. It tells us in an imaginative manner about a political philosophy which Bacon wanted to recommend to the people of his time. It tells us how by accident a ship's company came to the imaginary island of Ben Salem in the ocean. This accident of the ship is taken up as an opportunity for describing the social conditions prevailing in t e imaginary island. The description is put into the form of a philosophy called Solomon's House practised in the Island. The purpose of Solomon's House was the study of the works of creature of God. The whole philosophy is presented in the form of a fable. Therefore it has been called very often a novel. But in fact it is Bacon's philosophy of Science presented in a romantic form. Bacon could not achieve in his presentation quite the same success as Sir Thomas More achieved in his famous book *Utopia.* Bacon did not possess the gift of romance in the same high degree. The most important thing in the Island is a College of Science or Solomon's House where the pursuit of Science is taken up for the benefit of men. This book is a kind of anticipation of the Royal Society which was destined to produce great and marvellous works for the benefit of men. Bacon also wrote a small book called *Of the Wisdom of the Ancients.* In this book he tries to draw out moral wisdom from the tales of classical mythology.

From the above discussion and study of Bacon's work it is clear that he was not an ordinary mind. Even at the time of his death he continued to aspire for knowledge. We should not forget that he died while stuffing a fowl to study the effect of cold on its flesh. His knowledge deep, or not, was very wide. In this connection the following words deserve notice :

"With remarkable elasticity and hopefulness he contrived to live on, husbanding his rammed fortune and pursuing his studies to which he had hoped, until his fall came, to give the support and prestige of his great position. The literary output of these years shows what he might have achieved had not so much of his life been spent on fruitless solicitation and intrigue."

(*Matheson*)

Whether it was in the field of law or in the field of science or in the field of literature, Bacon had made his mark. Lawyers have put him among the series of famous Chancellors. Even man of Science regard his position as of importance. Sometimes modern scientists make fun of his methods, and perhaps his methods were really cutdated, but the fact remain that he gave a definite spirit and direction to the course of science. He was mainly responsible in giving Science a practical utility. He brought it out from obscruity and started applying it to the cause of human life. The following words bear testimony to his achievement in the field of Science.

In the field of literature his contribution by far remains the most important and everlasting. To the plain man who is neither interested in Politics nor Science, he will always appeal as a master of English style. He may not possess the extraordinary music which is found in Browne or Donne. Yet his Essays have their own charm.

"The *Essays* also constitute a handbook of practical wisdom, enclosing in their shortest maxims an astonishing treasure of insight. There has been no more active stimulant to wit and the understanding. As compared with Hooker's great dialectical work, with its vast, developed argument and concentration on temporary and local disputes, the *Essays* are a compendium of precepts, or rather of reflections, which are true of all men, for all time and in all places."

(*Legoius*)

At the end we can sum up his achievement by saying that when he made the big claim of making all knowledge to be his province, he was quite conscious of the immensity of the task. Had he not thrown away his energies in the matters of State and Politics, his achievement perhaps would have been still greater. But his works as they are prove it that he was a massive intellect. And here he deserves our admiration and respect, notwithstanding the controversial opinion about his character.

CHAPTER II

BACON'S AGE

The age of Bacon is the age of Renaissance or better called the age of Shakespeare. The term Renaissance means 'rebirth'. It implies the great spiritual and intellectual awhkening which marked the end of the Middle Ages and the advent of the Modern World in all its varied aspects. For the first time since the extinction of the great Roman Civilisation England following in the wake of Italy and France stirred from deep slumber of the spirit into which she had fallen because of ignorance of the past and the authority of the Church. Superstitions, credulity and witchcraft reigned supreme. Spirit of adventure was entirely absent. Blind faith in the powers of nature and black magic and phantoms was prevalent among the people.

The end of the 15th century saw tremendous change coming over men's minds. This change had several phases or aspects :—

1. **Revival of Learning** : Greek scholars persecuted by Turks in Constantinople fled to Italy where they brought their learning, art and science. Italy became the fountain-head or centre of the new great learning. France, Germany and England sent their scholars to Italy in quest of this new knowledge. They studied the elevating poetry of Homer, the philosophy of Plato and the science of Aristotle. They learnt Greek and Latin languages and literatures and came back home enlighten their countrymen and infuse a new spirit into them.

2. **Humanism** : The re-discovery and study of past Roman civilisation and culture led to a new interest in humanity. Life gained importance and value. It was no longer considered to be for mere penance and suffering to get into Heaven and attain eternal bliss. The world was ragarded as something real and abiding and not as transitory and trifling or unreal. There came into being

an ideal practical man who exercised his reason and intellect upon art, science, literature and philosophy. He took interest in adventure and exploration. He developed his body for war and hunt. He was a pérfect courtier and an ardent lover.

3. **The Reformation** : People brought their reason to bear on religion too. They no longer believed in dogmas or doctrines of the church quite blindly. The Renaissance converted fanaties into liberal believers. Orthodoxy lost its sway over men's minds. Authority of the Pope was defied and schism or separatism from Rome in religious matters was the natural result. Thus the English people were free not only politically but also from the yoke of the Roman Pope. Protestants came into prominence as a consequence of the Reformation, or movement of reform in religion.

4. **Nationalism** : The Renaissance had its effect in the political world also. The people of England were imbued with a new spirit of nationality. They began to think themselves as Englishmen first in every relationship. This spirit was still more accentuated by her wars with France and the victories she won over the enemies.

5. **Discovery** : Discovery and adventure was another aspect of the Renaissance. England was no longer stay-at-home and lethargic. Columbus set out on his great and memorable voyage and discovered America. Vasco de Gama went round the Cape of Good Hope. They were followed by other adventurers who crossed the Atlantic ocean and returned home with wealth and wonders.

6. **Printing** : The art of printing, the result of mental and intellectual awakening, led to a rapid spread of education. It created a wide reading public. Education came out of the narrow precincts of a few churches and progressed by leaps and bounds through schools established in every nook and corner of the country. Teaching was freed from religious influence of the church and became secular in tone and effect.

This multi-farious influence of the Renaissance had its impact on literature. These new tendencies are evident in

every poet and prose-writer of merit. This new spirit is fully reflected in their writings.

The literature of this period is marked by certain trends. Imagination was replaced by realism. Fiction and falsity gave way to fact and truth. Exaggeration was no longer indulged in. Artificiality was substituted by naturalness. Reason prevailed over credulity and blind faith. Search for truth or scientific enquiry was the dominant feature. Fanaticism yielded to liberality. Democratic and critical spirit became visible in every sphere of life. The religious faith was carefully analysed and time-honoured institutions were judged frankly and fearlessly. In short, literature, began to convey facts. Bacon, Shakespeare, Ben Johnson, Burton, Delouy, Dekker, etc., all exhibited this spirit of the Renaissance with all its varied aspects in their works.

Chapter III

THE ESSAY, ITS FORM AND DEVELOPMENT

Form : The essay has been defined differently, Dr. Johnson interpreted it as "a loose sally of the mind, as irregular indigested piece; not a regular and orderly composition." This definition is not complete or clear. Of course, there is an element in it quite characteristic of the essay. The essay is truly an indigested piece of composition. The essayist does not deal exhaustively with any topic. He writes not to inform us but to please us. He is an artist. He displays his power of expression or lays greater stress on the form than on the subject. The theme is left off in the middle. Thus it smacks of want of finish. It is abrupt and irregular in conception and execution.

Murray defines it as "a composition of moderate length on any particular subject or branch of a subject originally implying want of finish, but now said of a composition more or less elaborate in style, though limited in range". These words contradict Dr. Johnson's views about the essay. One regards it as an unfinished and irregular piece of composition while the other considers it elaborate in form and conception though limited in scope or range. On a closer examination of these two outwardly inconsistent definitions, we will find that they contradict only one aspect of the essay. Both are right in their own way. One complements the other. Murray brings home to us an important feature of the essay, namely, its moderate length. The essay is something not exhaustive. It must be clearly distinguished from a treatise or dissertation. Dr. Johnson too is conscious of this characteristic and his definition is not at variance with Murray's. The contradiction arises when we think of Dr. Johnson's *'irregular' 'loose sally of the mind'* and compare it with Murrays' *'elaborate'* in the concept of an essay.

Mr. Oslo Williams regards the essay as the most delightful airy mould of thought possessed of every conceivabl

literary grace combined with every intellectual quality or beauty of theme. He agrees with Murray in regard to the limit or restriction of scope and range.

The origin of the word is ascribed to Montaigne who used the term *essai* (essay) for the first time. It means *'trial or attempt'*. This implication throws some light on the basic conception of the essay. Fundamentally the essay is an attempt or trial of a subject. It is by no means a final or thorough treatment of the topic. The essay is not a seriously or scientifically composed treatise or dissertation. It lacks detail and order, and the thoughts or reflections are a bit random and unconnected. Thus it is a receptacle for detached thoughts which Bacon calls *'dispersed meditations'* quite distinct from serious forms of literature. Montaigne's conception of the essay also implies that the essayist need not be a scholar or expert master of the subject he deals with. He is required to give only his personal reflections or reactions with a view to impress or entertain the reader rather than add to his knowledge or experience.

Another definition worthy of our consideration is offered by Mr. J. H. Lobban, who says, " Essay is a short, discursive article on any literary, philosophical or social subject, viewed from a personal or historical standpoint." In this definition too we find stress on two essential characteristics of the essay : shortness or brevity and discursiveness or rembling of the thought.

These different definitions have given various aspects or features of the essay and have laid emphasis on one or the other of the characteristics. Here is another definition by J. B. Priestley : "Essay is a reverie, the frame of mind in which a man says. 'Say I to myself say I.' " The personal element is stressed here. The essayist gives vent to his individuality, his egoism and chattiness. This vein runs through the essays of Montaigne, Hazlitt. Addison, Lamb, etc., as opposed to Bacon who is rather impersonal.

From this medley of definitions we have to choose the essential characteristics or form a right conception of the term *'essay'*. It would appear that the first essential characteristic of an essay is *'brevity'*. An essayist must be

brief or short in his treatment of any topic. He is not to play the role of a scientist or philosopher dealing thoroughly and in detail with the subject. The essay should not develop into a treatise or dissertation. It should be of moderate length. Secondly, *freedom of expression* is another quality invariably possessed by an essayist. He is not restricted and constrained in the expression of his views. His main aim is to please the reader and not add to his knowledge. Hence he enjoys some license to think freely and let his mind soar high in the atmosphere of imagination and add to the charm of the essay. As regards the theme his range is not limited. He can touch upon any topic in a casual and non-serious way, his purpose being entertainment rather than exposition of any truth or problem. He is not openly a moralist or teacher, though his essay may incidentally be didactic.

The third necessary element in an essay is *irregularity*. The essay is an irregular, disorderly piece of composition. There is no particular order or elaborateness of the ideas expressed in an essay. Details, too, are immaterial. The essay contains random thoughts or reactions,—some experience of life, some incident, some impression formed casually, some event attracting attention, some problem facing the writer or the world about him and his own repercussion.

Apart from these three characteristics that pertain to the formal, outward or objective aspect of the essay, the most important ingredient is the subject, *inward or personal element* in the essay. The whole charm of the essay lies in the personality of the author. He takes a deep interest in life and by the charm of his personality creates a similar interest in the reader. A good essay resembles a good talk or conversation. Just as a tactful, shrewd, wise man makes his personality felt through his charming mode of conduct and conversation, so does an expert essayist exert his influence, command respect and compel attention from the readers. And just as talk has no serious purpose, is unrestrained in theme and meant to divert or amuse the hearer, in the same way an essay is devoid of gravity of aim, free from limitation of scope and written with the main object of affording entertainment and pleasure. The essayist

imparts charm and beauty even to the dull, drab life and drudgery and monotony of the world, through his own cheerful outlook and optimism. To create laugher out of sad and dismal environs and lend beauty to gloomy and ugly aspects is his art and aim. His success lies in his ability to make others think and feel as he himself does. He transports, as it were, his own personality into others. He has strong deep sentiments and definite views which he expresses with equally strong and over-powering conviction. He describes vividly and forcefully what he feels vehemently. The essay is judged not by the soundness or cogency of reasoning or correctness of vision and opinion but the effect caused on the reader. The essay is meant to enrapture or amuse and not to instruct or teach.

The *essayist does not specialize in any branch of learning or subject of study.* He is not an expert or master of what he writes. He is nothing of a poet either ; yet he is something of all in one. He is not concerned with discovery or research. He only observes, feels, ponders, describes and then interprets life or the objects of his experience with his charming personality focussed on it. He is not sensitive to the truth or otherwise of anything ; he only depicts or portrays what and as he sees and thinks of. He makes life pleasant and loveable for others. He adds zest to what is uninteresting, or renders spicy and tasteful what is otherwise insipid and without flavour. It is not the glory of theme that counts for him. Any topic will do and serve the purpose. It is the charm of his personality that will raise the subject from trivial and low to eminent and high degree. His peculiar way of expression and unusual mood or mode of thought will bring charm and force to the essay. The essay need not be deep or scholarly in content. It must be jolly in theme and entertaining in expression and effect.

Development : As already stated it was Montaigne, a French writer, who first used the term *essai* and even he brought out his collection of essays entitled *Essais*. So he is justly called the Father of the Essay. His essays are mere trial pieces and experiments devoid of serious purpose or orderly style. They are marked by his personal touch, varied in theme, short and brief, irregular and discursive.

But they are interesting and powerful in effect and have been read and admired for long.

Next to Montaigne is the name of Bacon who is known as the Father of the English Essay. He wrote in English and Latin both but he set greater store by Latin which was, to his mind, a language superior to English. As an essayist Bacon did not follow the tradition of Montaigne. His style is objective or impersonal as compared with that of his predecessor who is invariably personal in form and theme. From a study of Montaigne's *Essais* we can gather enough of biographical matter about him while Bacon's essays preclude any such possibility. He always makes general observations about life and the world and avoids personal references. His style is pithy and aphoristic, terse and curt, brief and vigorous. His essays are a sort of compendium of precepts.

A period about fifty years following the death of Bacon was rather barren and it did not produce an essayist worth the name. It was only with the advent of the Restoration Period that the essay came into its own again. The most eminent essay-writer of this period is Abraham Cowley. His essays are marked by a vein similar to the one running through Montaigne's. Unlike Bacon he is personal and subjective in his writings. He is a follower of Montaigne in form and spirit. He combines ease, facility and freedom in his style which is pleasant and discursive quite different from the dry and impersonal attitnde of Bacon. Thus Cowley is a pioneer in the field of literature and inventor of a new literary form in English after the fashion and pattern or tradition of Montaigne in French. Bacon is the first essayist in English but his essay does not come upto the mark. It lacks certain essential characteristics. Hence it is more proper to dub Cowley as the Father of the English Essay in place of Bacon. *Of Myself* is a typical essay of Cowley and fully represents his genius as such. He also writes on familiar topics such as the *Garden*.

First half of the seventeenth century saw some great character-writers. They were fond of short character-sketches full of point, wit and humour. Joseph Hall, John Earle and Sir Thomas Overbury are some of them. Among these Overbury is the greatest. He wrote such tyues of

milkmaid characters as the *Franklim* and the *Thinker*. His sketches though short and pithy, reflect his deep insight into human nature, knowledge and experience of the world.

Some minor essayists of the Restoration Period may be skipped over. Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesie* and Locke's *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* are treatises rather than essays. They are too voluminous to fall within the scope of essay-writing. Of course, Lord Halifax is an important figure. Dryden's style is marked by lucidity, ease and vigour. His themes are matter-of fact and of the earth earthly, rich in variety and tone. Temple's essays too indicate similar clarity, ease and affability besides rhythmic beauty, dignity and charm. Halifax like Bacon is aphoristic and terse in style, but possessed with personal touches and fond of metaphors like Montaigne.

The eighteenth century marks a new trend and spirit in the domain of essay-writing. With the development of journalism the essay took a big stride onward. It attained greater variety, character, vigour and suppleness or flexibility. *The Tattler*, a journal meant to amuse fashionable readers appeared in 1709. It published short and interesting accounts of manifold incidents of life enlivened by charm of personality and character. *The Tattler* was started by Steele who was later joined by Addison. This journal became prominent and served as model for subsequent essayists like Lamb and Stevenson. *The Tattler* continued for a couple of years and then it came to an end followed by *The Spectator*.

Addison (1672—1719) wrote four hundred essays of about the same length, of invariably excellent style, and of a great variety of themes. His essays reflect the contemporary trends—fashion, head-dresses, practical jokes, courteous conversation, etc. He condemned morals of the age in a mood of playful satire and humour.

Steele (1672—1729) was a colleague of Addison. Both were moralists and had identical views about the society of their age. Steele had a wide experience of life, a sympathetic heart and bright humour. Addison was well-read in literature, possessed a charming and polished style and

pleasant wit. They both combined to give the world their best and complete achievement each making good what the other lacked. Their essays are moral and didactic in spirit and personal in form.

Daniel Defoe (1660—1731) is well-known for *Robinson Crusoe*, but he did a lot for journalism. He published his paper *Review* wherein he set a model for others to follow. He wrote lucidly and effectively. He combined the art of making his narrative amusing with his ability and tact to make it look realistic, thus affording entertainment and instruction, or pleasure and profit side by side.

Jonathan Swift (1667—1745) about whom Carlyle speaks highly saying, "By far the greatest man of that time, I think, was Jonathan Swift. He saw himself in a world of confusion and falsehood ; no eyes were clearer to see it than his". In some respects he resembled Defoe and in others he differed from him.

Dr. Johnson started *The Rambler* in 1750 following the pattern of *The Spectator*. Thereafter came *The Adventurer* and *The Idler*. His style is heavy and bombastic lacking the ease and grace of Addison and the idiomatic colloquialism of Swift. His style, though pompous and ponderous, is clear and lucid, dignified and vigorous.

Oliver Goldsmith is no doubt one of the most eminent essayists of the eighteenth century. His essays like *Man in black, The Bee* and *The Citizen of the World* are marked by originality of conception, unusual vigour and boldness. His style, is complete contrast with Johnson's—is free from ornateness, rhetoric and bombast. In fact. he maintained the traditions of Addison and Steele.

Lamb (1735—1834) is a charming and towering personality in the realm of English Essay. His essays are unequalled in English, and unique in expression. No writer is more egoistic than Lamb. His essays are full of personal touches, reflections and opinions. He follows the tradition of Montaigne, the Father of the Essay. He fully realised the charm of personality and gave due vent to it in his essays. This is well borne out by his *Essays of Elia* which is quite revealing and autobiographical. The charm of his writing lies in his capacity to combine extremes and

opposites. In his essays he is at once artless and artful, tearful and yet so mirthful, so pedantic and yet so humane. He knows how to develop intimacy with the reader. He chooses simple and common subjects but lends them charm and glory through his writing.

Another important essayist of the nineteenth century is Leigh Hunt. Like Lamb he takes the reader into his confidence and chatters out inner and hidden secrets. He usually contributed essays to periodicals such as *The Indicator* and *The Companion*. His essay *The Death of Little Children* is full of pathos and personal touch.

This intimacy lends charm to his essays. His writings are free from excessive moralism and pompousness, a common fault of the contemporary essay.

Hazlitt (1778—1830) is a versatile writer. He far surpassed his friend, Hunt, in the mass and weight of thought, soundness of opinion and breadth of vision. He contributed regularly to important periodicals such as *The Edinburgh Review*, *The Examiner*, *The Times* and *The London Magazine*. Besides essays on general topics, he earned a fair name as a critic of high order. His essays on literary criticism are marked by impartiality and discretion of judgment, honesty of purpose and fearlessness of expression. As a stylist, he ranks high and follows the pithy, short and aphoristic mode of Bacon. His brief, curt and abrupt sentences are in consonance with the vigour and directness of his views. He is capable of pure diction and concise expression. He seems too fond of apt and skilfully altered quotations.

As an essayist, Thomas De Quincey (1785—1859) does not come upto the mark. He lacks uniformity both in form and content. His themes do not fit in with his modes of expression. He is fond of bombast, pomp, ornateness and rhythm. His style is characterised by vulgarity and looseness. But at times inspiration descends upon him and he pours forth sweetness and depth of conception followed by ease and grace of diction. In point of rhythm and melody he is almost supreme.

An essayist of note who deserves mention here is Lord Macaulay. Whereas Charles Lamb, his famous contem-

porary, revealed the charm of his personality in his essays, Macaulay followed the tradition of Bacon and remained impersonal. His essays are purely literary or historical. He mostly contributed his essays and articles to *The Edinburgh Review*.

The latter half of the nineteenth century saw two important and eminent essayists, Matthew Arnold and R. L. Stevenson. The former is a voluminous and copious writer. A man of great learning and culture, he lends sweet urbanity to his style and depth and point to his theme. As a critic he is still unequalled. He is known for his erudite and vehement criticism of literature, religion and society. He holds sound and unbiased views and expresses them in equally cogent and fearless modes.

In E.V. Lucas we find a revival of Lamb's tradition, particularly in point of devotion to London, its literary figures, picturesque environs and extremely social atmosphere.

Even in the modern age, as in the old one, two, set patterns of style continue side by side—the simple, matter-of-fact and unornate and the elegant, .pompous, high-flown or euphuistic. The first trend is represented by the G.K. Chesterton, Hilaire Belloc and Huxley. These writers lay greater stress on the ideas or themes than on the mode or style. Thought is their main concern and expression, a secondary thing. Hence they do not indulge in any lofty flight of imagination, brilliance or bombast of diction, high-sounding or pompous phraseclogy or unrealistic imagery, metaphor or circumlocution. They are direct, plain and to the point. On the contrary we notice great artistry, verbosity and ornateness in the styles of Max Beerbohm, Alice Meynell and Maurice Baring. They cultivate and revive the elegance of writing characteristic of the last decades of the nineteenth century. They are more concerned with art than subject, form than spirit, or mode than theme. Their style is a model of elegance, suavity and fastidiousness.

Chapter IV

BACON'S ESSAYS AND THEIR STRUCTURE

Essays: Bacon's *Essays* deserve separate consideration and a separate chapter. We did not take them up along with the rest of his works. For the students of literature they are a class apart, and deserve a special treatment. When he wrote these essays in English, he felt that they would not survive the effect of time and will be forgotten if they were not translated into Latin. Here however, he was highly mistaken. His essays survive in their English edition, and can be called the main inspiration behind the development of essays in English Literature. He took the idea of writing these essays from the great French thinker Montaigne, but this was all. Both in the matter and in the manner of the essays he is entirely different from Montaigne. He wrote in his own style and on subject matter drawn from his keen observation and practical experience of life. For the most part they deal with the conduct of life in private and public affairs. They are of practical value in this sense. Bacon knew this and he said that his essays would "come home to men's business and bosoms." The expression men's business and bosom "simply stands for the usefulness and utility of these essays in men's life." There is hardly any book of the same size in any literature which contains so much wisdom of experience. No doubt the wisdom is of a worldly kind and therefore its application to life is of a limited nature. The spiritual sphere remained outside the scope of these essays.

Bacon used the word *Essai* in its original etymological sense now no longer applied to it. In this sense the word essay means a 'trial or attempt.' The *Essays*, therefore, are merely 'dispersed meditations' as Bacon himself said; in other words it means that they are informal thoughts committed to writing and not any exhaustive treatment of the subject.

Even then they contain very mature wisdom. As Hudson puts it, "but it is the art of succe^s among men which is the subject of his essays. He points a man to the part he should play on the stage of social lives as he indicated in the sub-title of this book: *Counsels Civil and Moral*. Within these limits the *Essays* have singular force and vogue. No one has ever produced a greater number of closely packed and striking formulas, loaded with practical wisdom. Many of them have become proverbs." When Bacon wrote the *Advancement of Learning* and the *Novum Organum*, he could not come in contact with the mind of an average man. He was high and lofty, beyond the reach of the man in the street. But in the *Essays* the mind of Bacon is brought into immediate contact with the minds of ordinary readers. He talks to plain men in language which everybody understands, about things in which everybody is interested. Here he had no rivals. It has been rightly suggested by Hugh Walker that "while several contemporaries surpass him in depth of insight into subject which he had specially studied, few in any age have rivalled him in the capacity to utter pregnant thoughts on almost any theme."

His essays were published in three separate volumes in his life time. The first edition was very slim volume of only ten essays. It was published in 1597. The essays were :

(1) Of Study.

(2) Of Discourse.

(3) Of Cermonies and Respects.

(4) Of Followers and Friends.

(5) Of Suitors.

(6) Of Expense.

(7) Of Regimen of Health.

(8) Of Honour and Reputation.

(9) Of Faction.

(10) Of Negotiating.

This first volume of his *Essays* it appears was published

under some compulsion. Bacon was not yet ready to print them. He had circulated them among his friends only. But then some enterprising and clever person published an unauthorised edition of the *Essays*. This compelled Bacon to publish the *Essays* himself. He all the time felt that his *Essays* were not yet ripe ; to publish them in this form was "to gather the fruit before it is ripe". But he had to publish them in order "to prevent stealing".

Then came the second Edition in 1612. From 10 essays it grew into 38 ; 29 essays were entirely new. Nine out of the ten essays of the first edition were retained. The essay entitled *Of Honour and Reputation* was dropped. The title of another essay, *Of Followers and Friend* was changed—the changed title was *Of Friendship*. The twenty-nine new essays added were as under :

(1) Of Religion.

(2) Of Death.

(3) Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature.

(4) Of Cunning.

(5) Of Marriage and Single Life.

(6) Of Parents and Children.

(7) Of Nobility.

(8) Of Great Place.

(9) Of Empire.

(10) Of Counsel.

(11) Of Dispatch.

(12) Of Love.

(13) Of Atheism.

(14) Of Superstition.

(15) Of Wisdom for a Man's Self.

(16) Of Seeming Wise.

(17) Of Riches.

(18) Of Ambition.

(19) Of Young Men and Age.

(20) Of Beauty.

(21) Of Deformity.

(22) Of Nature in Man.

(23) Of Custom and Education.

(24) Of Fortune.

(25) Of Followers.

(26) Of Praise.

(27) Of Judicature.

(28) Of Vain Glory.

(29) Of Greatness of Kingdoms.

In this second edition many of the essays of the first edition were altered and enlarged in subject-matter and the treatment. Even the order of the essays was changed. For example in the first edition the essay entitled *Of Study* was number one. In the second edition number one in order was the essay, *Of Friendships*, and the essay *Of Studies* became number twenty-nine. This second edition of the *Essays* was dedicated to Sir John Constable. He was the husband of Dorothy Burnham, sister of Bacon's wife. According to the original plan Bacon was to dedicate the second edition of the *Essay* to Henry, Prince of Wales. But the Prince had died before the second edition was to be published. Then Bacon thought it wise and expedient to dedicate the *Essays* to Sir John Constable. It is interesting to read the dedicatory letter which Bacon had written to the Prince of Wales. It reveals Bacon's ideas on the subject of essay. In the dedication he wrote that his essays are "certain brief notes set down rather significantly than curiously." He was also confident that in writing these essays he was dealing with thos subjects "wherein both men's lives and their pens are more conversant." But he did not make them, so he thought, 'vulgar', on the other hand, as he put it, the essays were "Of a Nature whereof a man shall find much in experience and little in books." Here he was absolutely correct. Posterity has made clear that these *Essays* contain much that we get from our

experience. F. G. Selby notes in this connection that his *Essays* are "specimens of that wisdom which arises out of an universal insight into the affairs of the world. They come home to man's business and bosoms.........The *Essays* are the fruit of his observation of life. They reflect his experience of man and the wòrld. The most curious are those which treats Of Cunning, Of Suitors, Of Wisdom, Of Man's Self, Of Simulation and Dissimulation and other subjects of the kind." Bacon was confident of this aspect of his *Essays*. It is clear from his words, "Yet I have endeavoured to make them not vulgar but of nature whereof a man shall find much in experience and little in books,"

The third and the last edition of Bacon's essays was brought out in 1625 under his own supervision. It was dedicated to Duke of Buckingham, the great favourite of King James the First. The dedication is worth reproducing :

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY

To the Right Honourable my very good Lord the DUKE OF BUKINGHAM his Grace, Lord High Admiral of England.

EXCELLENT LORD

Salmon says, A good name is as a precious ointment ; and I assure myself such will your Grace's name be with posterity. For your fortune and merit both have been eminent. And you have planted things that are likely to last. I do now publish my Essays ; which, of all my other works, have been most current; for that, as it seems, *they come home to men's business and bosoms. I have enlarged them both in number and weight; so that they are indeed a new work.* I thought it therefore agreeable to my affection and obligation to your Grace, to prefix your name before them, both in English and Latin. For I do conceive that the Latin volume of them (being in the universal language) may last as long as books last. May I dedicate to the King; my *History of Henry the Seventh* (which I have now also translated into Latin) and my protions of *Natural History* to the Prince ; and these I dedicate to your Grace ; *being of the best fruits that by the good increase which God gives to my*

pen and labours I could yield. God lead your grace by the hand.

Your Grace's most obliged and faithful servent,

FRANCIS ST. ALBAN.

The most important words in this dedication are: "They come home to men's business and bosoms." These words have become very famous and very correctly describe the nature of his essays. 'Men's business and bosoms' means that they are of importance in man's everyday life; bosom stands for the heart and the expression that they come to 'man's bosoms' simply means that they easily appeal to men who are engaged in the business of life. This point has been asserted by many critics of Bacon. "It is in the *Essays* along that the mind of Bacon is brought into immediate contact with the minds of ordinary readers. There he opens an exoteric school, and talks to plain men in language which everybody understands about things, in which everybody is interested." These essays are useful to men's business because, as the subtitle of the third edition points out, they are:

Essays or Counsels Civil and Moral

Most of these essays deal with the practical business of living. It is the art of success among men which is the real subject matter. He repeatedly points out in these essays the part man should play on the stage of social life. As a result of this desire it can be confidently said that Bacon has produced "infinite richness in a little room". No one has ever produced a greater number of closely packed and striking formulas, loaded with practical wisdom. Many of them have become proverbs.

The result of all this was that the essays became at once popular. Bacon was so much happy about it that in his dedicatory epistle he says that they are the "best fruits that by the good increase which God gives to my pen and labours I could yield." Yet another point to be noted about the third edition of the *Essays* is the change of style. In the first edition he wrote essays in a curt, stenographic, sharply antithetical style. Generally the sentences were short without any connectives. Each sentence stood by

itself. It contained concentrated weightly thought. But in the third edition this aspect of his style disappears. Thought is weighty and compact in the third edition as well but the sentences this time are not short and stenographic. He develops the sentences, puts in more connectives and makes his style relatively loose. This change in style is very obvious and one can notice it by reading the two different editions of his essays. That Bacon did it consciously is clear from his words in the dedication. He says:

"I have enlarged them both in number and weight; so that they are indeed a new work."

These words are very significant. The *Essays* are no longer in their old forms; they have become a new work. They have become a new work not because Bacon had added some more essays to his third edition. They have become new also because his idea and conception of the essay had changed, and accordingly his style had changed. The *Essays* were now no longer "dispersed meditations"; no longer were they 'recreations' in comparison with his more serious studies. They were now so important that he calls them the best fruits of his pen and labours. The result of this change in conception made him take up the *Essays* in a different spirit. The total result of this was that the third edition of his essays became, as he puts it: "indeed a new work".

This third edition contained 58 essays in all. And as Bacon points out in his dedication they had been enlarged "both in number and weight". In other words most of the essays had been given another touch of the expert. They had acquired greater richness as a result of the evergrowing experiences of Bacon in civil and political life. In the second edition Bacon had omitted the essay ***Of Honour and Reputation***. This essay reappears in the third edition. In order of arrangement *Of Truth* became the first essay. In all he added 20 new essays in the third edition;

(1) Of Truth. (This essay now leads off the whole collection of these essays.)

(2) Of Revenge.

(3) Of Adversity.

(4) Of Simulation and Dissimulation.

(5) Of Envy.

(6) Of Boldness.

(7) Of Seditions and Troubles.

(8) Of Travel.

(9) Of Delays.

(10) Of Innovations.

(11) Of Honour and Reputation.

(12) Of Suspicion.

(13) Of Plantations.

(14) Of Masques and Triumphs.

(15) Of Prophecies.

(16) Of Usury.

(17) Of Buildings.

(18) Of Gardens.

(19) Of Anger.

(20) Of Vicissitudes of Things.

Thus the first edition contained ten essays ; the second 38 essays; the third 58 essays. From the first to the third edition the number of the essays increased; their subject matter was enlarged and made more weighty; their style underwent a change; their popularity also increased. But in spite of the immense popularity of the essays in the English edition, Bacon always had the "feeling that the Latin translation of the *Essays* would live longer than the English edition". The dedicatory epistle repeats what he had said before many a time that "The Latin Volume of them (being in the Universal language) may last as long as last." Here, however, Bacon was sadly mistaken. The English edition continues to survive; it has come to the business and bosoms of countless generations of human beings ; the Latin Volume, on the other hand is no longer heard of.

Summing up : To sum up, following important observations can be made about Bacon's *Essays*. When he wrote

the first volume of his *Essays*, containing 10 essays, he described them as "fragments of my conceit." Moreover, he was not very willing to publish them; he thought that they were still "unripe fruit". In a way he was compelled to publish them. But it is clear he did not think very highly of them. Then the second edition appeared in 1612. The number of essays grew—they were 38. This time Bacon had realized the importance of what he was doing. He had understood the meaning and significance of the word essay. He knew that word essay had come recently in use but the thing itself was old. He felt that Seneca had written essays in his *Epistles to Lusilus* without using the word essay. But even now Bacon felt that his *Essays* were not something very serious and laudable in comparison with his great works like the *Advancement of Learning* and *Novum Organum*. They were "certain brief notes set down rather significantly than curiously." However, the use of the word 'significantly' indicates the change in Bacon's mind. The essays were no longer merely fragments of his conceit. They were singnificant, though still brief notes, and he had tried to make them "not vulgar but of a nature, whereof man shall find much in experince and little in book." From 1612 to 1625, when the third edition of his *Essays* was brought out, Bacon's mind travelled farther towards greater understanding of the nature, significance and purpose of his essays. They have become so important by now that the number rises from 38 to 58. No longer does he call them either 'fragments' or 'brief notes.' They have now become the best fruits of his pen and labours. He know that this achievement was possible because of "The good increase which God gives to my pen and labours." In other words Bacon had become very conscious in writing the third edition of his *Essays*. He know that the power of his pen had increased; he had worked harder on these essays: he had given them a value of their own to turn them into a new work. This journey of Bacon's mind from the first edition of his *Essays* to the third edition is something very essential for the understanding of the value and significance of his *Essays* in their final form. This change in conception of the term essay, his increased labours, his ever growing experience, his increasing realization that his *Essays* would

"come home to man's business and bosoms"—all went into the making of the third edition of his *Essays*. The result is, *The Essays* are the crown and glory of Bacon's literary achievements.

The Structure of the Essays: One peculiarity which deserves notice is the frequency with which Bacon repeats himself. This is not very obvious in *The Essays*, until the reader comes to compare them with the rest of his works. A complete list of parallel passages would show much of the essay as compilations carefully selected and strung together, with just enough new matter to give them consistency and connection and to fit them into their new place. This is most marked, of course, in Bacon's most ornate work. He has gems of thought and language, but he does not scatter them about with uncalculating profusion of a Shakespeare, not "like wealthy men who care not how they give", but rather like those who are husbanding their store with care, doling it out with measure and method to make its contents go as far as they can. So we find frequently the same idea, the same form of words, the same favourite conceit brought out and compelled to do duty over and over again.

It appears, too, in several of the essays, that Bacon had formed no very distinct notion of his subject. He sets down what the title happens to suggest to him, and if the words of the title carry more meanings than one, or if their meaning has been suffered to remain indeterminate in his mind, the contents of the essay shift about accordingly. In the essay, *e.g.*, *Of Truth*, he takes the word first as equal to correctness of thought and thence passes to what he terms the truth of civil business, or in other words, to the wholly distinct virtue of truthfulness. The essay *Of Envy* is even more composite than this. The two forms of envy of which it treats, private envy and public envy, have little or nothing in common. Those who "think other men's harms a redemption of their own sufferings" are certainly malevolent, but envious they are not. Again in the essay *Of Ambition*, it is not easy to see why "to take a soldier without ambition is to pull off his spurs". Ambition is not commonly the virtue or vice to which a soldier as such is prone. The love of glory, the desire of earning distinction

in the wars, may act powerfully in aid of his sense of public duty, but these are not forms of ambition. The essay *Of the Vicissitude of Things* is almost necessarily a composite piece of work throughout. "Things" is a very wide term; whatever sense we give to it, thing change as time proceeds, so that a treatise on change generally may pick and choose its matter at random without danger of missing its proposed mark. The subject in the essay *Of Beauty* is more limited, and admits of being mere exactly defined. In point of fact, there are contradictory senses given to it, and Bacon roves freely from one to the other asserting in one sentence what he distinctly negatives in the next.

From this, and from other causes, the matter of *The Essays* is of very unequal value. They are at their best when they are dealing with the practical rules and cautions to be observed in public and in private life. This is especially the part which "comes home to men's business and bosoms." Bacon is no optimist. He has no sentiment to lead him astray. He sees clearly what men are at their worst, by what mean motives are impelled, what traps they lay for one another, what follies and inconsistencies they fall into. He knows their tricks, and he drags them out into full daylight and exposes them for what they really are. To the careless cursory reader, much of what he has written will seem commonplace enough. His rule, for instance, that "it is vain for princes to take counsel concerning matters; if they take no counsel likewise concerning persons; for all matters are as dead images; and the life of execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons,"—this seems; so obvious as to be hardly worth mentioning. Obvious or not, it has yet to be recognised and applied. Again, his remarks on the tyranny of custom, "how men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before, as if they were dead images and engines"—all this has been said a dozen times over before Bacon's day and after it; it would be all accepted as true; it comes home to men's business, but not therefore to their bosoms. They do not know themselves for what they are. So, too, with the grand reflections which Bacon's own experience of life has suggested and brought home to him; the emptiness of things which he sees men struggling for; the disappoint-

ments and drawbacks which attend the most complete success ; the servitude of attainment and the uncompensated misery of failure. All these have been the common themes of moralists at all ages of the world. Bacon could speak as one who had been an actor in the great scene, and who was thus marked off from the common crowd of mere sermonizers and rhetoricians. —(*Adapted from Reynolds*)

CHAPTER V

BACON AS AN ESSAYIST

As an essayist Bacon stands in the front rank of English essayists. He can be truly called the father of the English essay. But here a very interesting fact deserves to be noted. The interesting fact is that Bacon became the father of the English essay after a very uncertain beginning. When he wrote the first volume of his *Essays*, containing ten essays, he described them as "fragments of my conceit." He was not very serious about these fragments. These ten essays were merely jottings put down on paper in a curt, pithy, aphoristic style. Moreover, he was not very willing to publish these fragments. He thought that they were still unripeful. But he was compelled to publish them because of certain circumstances. The first edition appeared in 1597. Then came out the second edition of the *Essays*. From 10 the number rose to 38. This time he had realized the importance of what he was doing. He now understood better the meaning and significance of the word 'essay'. In the dedication to the second edition he refers to the word 'essay' and points out its origin. He tells us that the word 'essay' had come recently in use. But the thing itself was old. In his opinion Seneca had written essay in his *Epistles to Lusilius* without using the word 'essay', But still his (Bacon's) *Essays* were "certain brief notes set down rather significantly than curiously". The *Essays* were no longer "fragments of his conceit". They were, in his own word, "significant" and he had tried to make them " not vulgar " but of a nature, "whereof a man shall find much in his experience and little in book". So, we note a change in Bacon's conception and understanding of the term essay from the first edition to the second edition. In 1625 the third edition of his *Essays* was brought out. From 1612 to 1625, Bacon's mind had travelled farther towards greater understanding

of the nature, significance and purpose of the essay. The number of essays rose from 38 to 58. No longer does he call them either "fragments" or "brief notes". They have now become " the best fruits of his pen and labours". He writes in his epistle dedicatory that these fruits of his pen and labours could achieve this shape and form because of "the good increase which God gives to my pen and labours". In other words he had worked harder this time on the essays ; he had given them a value of their own to turn them into 'a new work'. This journey of Bacon's mind from the first to third edition of his *Essays* is something very essential in order to realize Bacon's contribution to the development of the English essay. From this discussion it becomes clear that it was by slow degrees that Bacon became the father of the English essay. The journey was begun in 1597 and the goal was arrived at in 1625. But this journey had been so successful and so glorious that today Bacon is the undisputed father of the English essay. In the words of Hugh Walker : "Bacon is the first English essayist, as he remains for sheer mass and weight of genius, the greatest".

Bacon and Montaigne : It is clear that Bacon borrowed the general conception of the essay from the French writer and philosopher, Montaigne. Montaigne's essays had appeared 17 years before Bacon's first edition. Bacon found that the form was suitable enough to receive many thoughts of his own mind. He, therefore, takes the form from Montaigne but fills it with material drawn from his own mind. He had a rare capacity to say pregnant thoughts on almost any theme that he took up in his *Essays*. The great Bacon critic, Mathesom, has rightly remarked, "The *Essays* have won him a place apart, and are the source of his fame with the world at large. They introduced a new form of composition into English Literature which was destined to have a varied and fruitful development." Here it should be clearly noted that though Bacon borrows the word essay from Montaigne, he has very little in common with the French writer. Like the French writer, of course, Bacon's essays consist of notes on life and human nature. But beyond that the similarity ends. The charm of Montaigne is of one kind; the charm of Bacon is of another kind.

Montaigne offers shrewd comments on men and things observed at leisure by a humane and open eye observer. The charm of his essays is very often the charm of his personality. As against him, Bacon's essays represent the reflections of a polite player of the game of life. The charm of the essays, therefore, is not so much the charm of the personality. The greatest beauty of his essays consists in pregnant sayings that strike the imagination and cling to the memory. The result is if Montaigne gives us the effect of a kind and humane nature, Bacon's essays offer us an insight into human nature made possible by a perfect mastery of single words and phrases. Macaulay is not unjustified in saying that Bacon's essays "have produced indeed a vast effect on the opinions of mankind;.... .. ...They have moved the world." Thus it is clear that the charm of Bacon's essays is not the charm of a rich, warm and humane personality. In the *Essays* of Bacon we come across counsels of moral, wisdom and advice on public and private virtues. But the atmosphere in the *Essays* is not that of a warm personality; it is of 'business', of cold-blooded expediency, and sometimes of unscrupulous self-interest. Here it will not be out of place to compare Bacon's essays with another great English essayist Lamb. The charm of Lamb's essays is the same as that of Montaigne's. In each case there remains behind the essays a warm, palpable, kind-hearted personality. The moment we read them we befriend them, we feel the rich personality lingering behind the lines. But Bacon in this respect does not belong to the School of Montaigne and Lamb. He speaks with a very high degree of objectivity. He is interested in man and his affairs but in writing of them he maintains a high degree of aloofness.

Subject-matter of his essays: The sub-title of his essays briefly but quite clearly announced the subject-matter of his essays. The title reads as follows:

Essays or Counsels Civil and Moral

The words *Civil and Moral* hold the key to the subject-matter of his essays. In very plain language we can say that his essays were written as a kind of advice to people in

general on civil and moral questions. Whether the advice is of a very high moral order is a question which we will examine later on. Presently it should be noted that his observations are very acute and go straight to the heart and bosom of mankind. Sometimes commonplace in their protean reflections and generalizations, his three score essays frequently reveal acuteness of observation, acumen of intellect, and breadth of worldly sense. Broadly, we can divide the Counsels he gave to men into three categories :

1. Man in his relation to a Supreme Being;
2. Man in his relation to himself ; and
3. Man in his relation to Society and the world.

In doing so he wanted to give to the human mind a direction which, he thought "it shall retain for ages". More than half of his essays deal with public life or affairs. In many of them the statesman or courtier is the main figure. When he is thinking of man in his relation to himself, he writes on subjects such as Truth and Love, Simulation and Dissimulation, of Goodness and Goodness of Nature and the Life. Some quotations from his essays will make the subject-matter obvious. Speaking of love he says that love is rather profitable to the Stage than to human existence, "in life it doth much mischief, sometimes like a syran, sometimes like a fury". "No great and worthy person (except Mark Antony and Appius Claudius, famed for his adoration of Virginia) hath been transported to the made degree of love." "It is impossible to love and be wise". In his essay on *Wisdom for a Man's self*, Bacon says of mis-chance in life in the following words : "Whereas they have all their times sacrifice to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconsistency of fortunes." Of colonization, he says "It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of the people and wicked condemned men to be the people with whom you plant." "If you plant where savages are... . use them justly and graciously."

These quotations show that Bacon had studied lives closely but in a business-like manner. He counted himself a master in the art of managing men. Therefore, G. H. Mair in his book *Modern English Literature*, suggests that "Human Nature and How To Manage It" would be a good title for his

book of essays. The essays which deal with public matters are a kind of manual for statesmen and princes instructing them how to acquire power and how to keep it. They also suggest how far these public servants may go safely in the direction of self interest, and to what degree the principal of self-interest must be subordinated to the wider interest of the people who are ruled: The spirit of curious and restless inquiry which animated Bacon finds expression in most of his essays such as 'Health', 'Gardens', 'Plantations' and others of the kind. To put it into the words of a famous critic, "Extraordinary insight and sagacity are their salient qualities; beyond perhaps any other book of the same size in any literature they are loaded with the ripest wisdom of experience but we must never forget that the wisdom which they inculcate is on the whole a distinctly wordly kind".

The above discussion leads us to think that Bacon took his general maxims only from the observations he had himself been able to make. Like a good lawyer, he with an air of complete impartiality balances opposing arguments before he brought his conclusions. The essential merit of the *Essays* lies in the density of thoughts and expressions, the frequent brilliancy of the poetic image and the impressive loftiness of the tone. But in these essays alone he is brought into contact with the mind of ordinary readers. Here he talks to plain man in language which everybody understants, about things in which everybody is interested.

Are his Essays really moral? We have already noted the subject-matter of his essays. We find that he has a sweeping range of topics and deals with man in his relationship with God, with Himself, and with Society and the World. Ben Jonson speaking of the wisdom of these essays said, "No man ever coughed or turned aside from him without loss." Even a simple reading of these essays gives us an impression that they are loaded with practical wisdom. Many of Bacon's observations have become proverbs. But the question now is : can we really call the advice given by Bacon in these essays as 'moral'? In the sub-title of his essays Bacon had emphasised this point when he called the essays *Counsels Civil and Moral*. The word 'moral' has raised many voices of dissent. No doubt Bacon never advo-

cates cruelty or oppression and is wise enough to see that no statesman can entirely set aside moral consideration. And yet it goes without saying that the moral and ethical tone is hardly elevating. Men are studied mostly in the spirit of Machiavelli. There is in places a hint of shallow worldliness. In the essay on *Friendship* we find the ethical tone highly disturbing. Sometimes, again even the generalizations are common place, and the value of the writing lies completely in its pitch and neatness. In such places Bacon is merely impressive because of the neat and memorable expression and not because of any weight and substance in his observations on human life. Therefore, it will not be wrong to say that the moral tendency in his essays is at times very questionable. When he says, "No great and worthy person" (except Mark Antony and Appius, Claudius, famed for his adoration of Verginia) hath been transported to the mad degree of love", one begins to doubt whether Bacon at all understood the moral purpose of life. When he further says that "it is impossible to love and be wise", we feel very strongly that a man who could not understand the meaning and significance of love in human life, could hardly understand the meaning of 'moral'. So, from the point of view higher morality and ethical values, Bacon can be hardly called a writer of moral counsels. But here we should remember that Bacon used the word 'moral' in the context of the time in which he lived, and the place where he lived. In the courtly life of Elizabethan times many things were permitted and considered moral which we consider immoral today. In his morality Bacon, therefore, was essentially a man of his time. This was a difinite limitation of his character and consequently has become a limitation of his essays. His reflections on public polity take the colour of his age. They have something of the hardness and disregard of moral consideration which Machiavelli had recommended earlier. Like Machiavelli, life to Bacon is very much a question of fortune and virtue. Virtue is merely a matter of skill and sheer ability unchecked ed by moral. But there are many essays where Bacon is not cencerned with the values of life. For example in essays *Of Gardens*, *Of Studies*, *Of Beauty*, *Of Travel* the question of morality does not arise. He remains impersonal in presen-

ting his subject-matter. But the fact remains that the lack of a high moral tone is a limitation of his essays. But within this limitation the essays have singular force and weight. No one have ever produced a greater number of closely packed and striking formulas. In the phrase of Marlowe we can describe his essays as "infinite riches in a little room".

Mixture of the Personal and Impersonal : The famous critic, A. C. Benson in his exposition of the art of the essay avoids the name of Sir Francis Bacon. For A. C. Benson the charm of the essay is the charm of the personality of the writer. In his opinion the essay is a thing that some one does himself; it is "The reverie, the frame of mind in which a man says, in the words of the old song, says I to myself, says I." It is no wonder therefore that Benson leaves out the name of Bacon from the list of the English essayists. He gives to Charles Lamb the place of pride. Here it may be pointed out that this judgment of A. C. Benson is far from fair. No doubt, Bacon is on the whole impersonal and detached in writing his essays. But even then there are moments when we can see him lingering behind the lines of his essays. We should not forget that quite a few of the essays were suggested by Bacon's experience. They were made of the stuff of his life. Of course, the truth remains that he does not reveal himself to the same extent as Charles Lamb does. Moreover, the persanality of Bacon is not as loving and genial as the personality of the Prince of English essayist, Charles Lamb. Therefore the basic fact remains that the charm of Bacon's essays is not the charm of personality. But it does not mean that there is no touch of the personal in what Bacon wrote. In fact, it was the demand of most of his subjects that he should write in a detached impersonal manner, and reveal himself as little as possible. He is ever a philosopher and always serious. He is to put it in the words of Hugh Walker, "Too stately, and his thought is too profound to permit us to speak of the essay as the confidential chat of a great philosopher; but in them he comes as near as his nature would permit." The very nature of his task in the essays made his tone impersonal. He, like Charles Lamb, was not talking to everybody and anybody who cared to listen, but to the chosen

great ones of the world who demanded a tone of weight and dignity. It is this desire of Bacon to address himself to the high and the mighty which explains the secret of the burdensome impersonal vein of his essays. In this connection Duglas Bush rightly points out, "The impersonality of matter and manner derives partly from Bacon's wish to be of special use to princes. It was hard for the essay at first to lend the counsel chamber and buttenhole to a fellow in the street". But in spite of all this attempt impersonality, we find behind the essays Bacon the man. He was a man of the Renaissance. The spirit of the Renaissance, the joy in learning, discovering, creating, the regard of the opportunities of human mind and body, the feeling of subtlety and loveliness of the world—all these find their expression in the essays. To quote Douglas Bush once again, "Not withstanding all the impersonal vein of these writings, they are essays in which the writer must appear sooner or later, to lay down his pen and continue with spoken words. Like all the Elizabethans Bacon had a vivid mind that would not stay official".

So from the above discussion it becomes obvious that Bacon's essays offer us a queer mixture of the personal and the impersonal. Because of the nature of the subjects on which he worte essays and the public to whom he addressed, he had to remain impersonal to a very great degree ; but because of his own nature, the Renaissance personality in him, he could not help revealing himself now and then. And yet the charm of his personality is not the charm of Lamb's personality. Lamb is warm, loving, genial, one of us ; Bacon is official, cold blooded, analytic, argumentative, and full of the spirit of the Renaissance.

Style in His Essays :- The style of Bacon's essays is different from the style of his other works. The Essay because of its very nature demanded a style of its own. Bacon, like any other master of the craft, knew it from the beginning. In the first edition of the Essays he used a style which was in keeping with the conception of the term that he had at that time. To begin with, he thought that the essay was "merely brief jottings, dispersed mediations". Naturally these brief jottings were put down

on paper in almost telegraphic style. The sentences were short, pithy, curt, stenographic. Even if a sentence had three or four clauses, there were no connectives in the various clauses. Each clause was separated either by a comma or with a semicolon, and acquired an independent status of a sentence. For example take the following quotation :

"Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed and some few to be chewed and digested. Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man, and writing an exact man."

This quotation clearly shows that the sentences, though they are made up of two or three clauses, are short, crisp, sententious. There are hardly any connectives. Each clause stands by itself ; each clause can be turned into an independent sentence. Not only this, each sentence if developed fully on the basis of ideas and thoughts it contains, would run into a paragraph. It is the concentrated expression of weighty thoughts. The statement that each sentence of Bacon's essay contains matter for a paragraph of an ordinary writer is very largely true. This stlye of Bacon can be called in one word *aphoristic style*.

In the second and third edition of the *Essays* we find a gradual change in Bacon's style. Sentences are not so very curt ; there are more connectives. The abrupt and abstract nature of the early sentences is replaced by unified sentences. In other words, we can say that from curt, stenographic and aphoristic style Bacon has moved to a comparatively looser and colourful and persuasive style. The sentences are enriched by metaphors and similies. The following quotations will make this point clear :

"Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament; adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction and the clear or evidence of God's favour. Yet, even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols ; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and

distasts : and adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needle-works and embroideries it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground".

Compare this quotation with the one preceding earlier. The difference in the style of the two is obvious and striking. In the first quotation we had seen that there were not many connectives; commas and semicolons generally separated one clause from the other. But now in this quotation you find connectives like 'which', 'yet', 'and', 'than', etc. The clauses are not so independent as to stand by themselves. They are interlinked and very much part of a complete sentence. So we see that the abruptness of the first style disappears and a kind of softness comes in. Therefore it has been rightly said that in the last edition of his Essays Bacon had made his style richer and soft. No doubt, evennow the sentences continue to be short but the style on the whole is colourful, rich in examples, images and metaphors, soft in its impact on the ears of the readers. But one thing still remains which was also part of the first style. Even now Bacon maintains cool objectivity; he does not show emotional depth of the kind which we find, for example, in R. L. Stevenson or Charles Lamb. Bacon was a scientific analyst who does not gossip and ramble. In spite of this aphoristic nature of his style one thing can always be said about his achievements as a master of English prose. His short sentences have enough flexibility. His style could fit itself easily to buildings and gardens, to studies and friendships, to truth and death. It could sink to the lowest level of familiarity and could describe the movements of the human minds in every day affairs of the world. His style could at the same time rise to the high level where comparisons between the things of this world and the movement of the heavenly bodies could be easily made. This was a very big achievement indeed. In the words of Hugh Walker, " Bacon did more than introduce a new literary form. He took one of the longest step ever taken in the evolution of English prose style ; a style which set that style on the road which it has travelled though

not without diviations, down to the days of Swift and Addison". In other words Hugh Walker admits that Bacon was the father of the prose style which became the style of many generations of essayists.

Summing up: To sum up, we can say the following things about Bacon the Essayist—(1) He is the father of the English Essayists. He stands in the front rank. (2) He achieved this distinction not in a leap. He made gradual and slow progress in acquiring the status of being the first and one of the greatest English Essayist. The first Edition of his *Essays* appeard in 1597 and the third in 1625. So it was in 28 years—1597 to 1625—that he achieved this great distinction. Through all these years his conception of essay changed, developed and matured. The maturity along with the acheivement was so successful and was so glorious that today Bacon is the undisputed father of the English Essay. (3) Bacon borrowed the conception of the essay from the French writer and philosopher, Montaigne. Montaigne's essays had appeard seventeen years before Bacon's first edition. But Bacon took a different role from his masters. The charm of Bacon's essays is absolutely different from Montaigne's. He took the form from Montaigne but filled it with material drawn from his own mind. Therefore it can be said that he was the first man to introduce a new form of composition into English literature and in spite of borrowing the idea from Montaigne's, his contribution remains his own. (4) The one limitation of Bacon as an essayist is that his essays lack emotional depth and appeal. This was the limitation of Bacon, the Politician and the man. In the Court he was interested in material progress; outside the court he was interested in scientific pursuits. So when he writes his essays he expresses his opinions in a cool business-like manner. He is concerned with practical wisdom. In such a case there is no need for being emotional; one has to be practical and absolutely objective and rational. When he wrote on scientific subjects, he acquired certain degree of emotional intensity and passions. But here again the very nature of the subject demanded that he should remain detached and cool. The result is as an essayist, in the matter of emotional appeal and praticipation, Bacon does not come anywhere near Charles Lamb or R. L.

Stevenson. (5) The subject-matter of his essays has remained limited. The life of the Court, the Politics and intrigues played in the times of Elizabeth and James the first, the personal ambition to gain the highest offices in the land, and the Renaissance desire to learn more and more, become the subject-matter of his essays. So man in his relation to himself and in relation to society and the world and to some extent in relation to God is the final subject-matter of his essays.

When all is said and done, the simple fact stands out that Bacon is the first English Essayist and one of the greatest as well.

CHAPTER VI

BACON'S STYLE

Father of English Prose: Without the shadow of a doubt Bacon is the father of the English Essay. If Montaigne gave birth to the essay in France, Bacon took the responsibilities of nurturing this new-born baby in England. And being as such he made significant departures from his French master. But besides being the father of the Essay, Bacon is equally the father of English prose. What Swift and Addison used in their Essays was nothing else but a slightly changed and improved form of the English language which Bacon used in his Essays. In this respect he took one of the most important steps ever taken in the development of English prose style. This fact has been clearly pointed out by Hugh Walker in his famous book *The English Essay and Essayists*, "Bacon did more than introduce a new literary form. He took one of longest steps ever taken in the evolution of English prose style; a style which set that style on the road which is travelled though not without diviations, down to the days of Swift and Addison." It should, however, be noted that when we say that Bacon was the father of English prose style for the Essay, it does not mean that his style was used by his followers in the same way. Perhaps nobody after Bacon wrote in the same curt, aphoristic, stenographic and antithetical stvle. It simply means that Bacon gave guidance to the successive generations of Essayists that followed him. He made it clear to them that English prose could be handed and used effectively to deal with the affairs of human life. In his Essays which contained counsels, civil and moral, he gave sufficient proofs of the way in which he could talk with the minds of ordinary readers in a "language which everybody understood, and about things in which everybody was interested". The con-

tribution of Bacon in this respect is historically very important.

Before him great masters of English prose like Hooker, Raleigh, Burton had used prose with great success and effect. But these writers had majesty; they had richness of music and melody; in their hours of inspiration they were incomparable in their poetic prose. But it should not be forgotten that they were not the masters of a style suitable for the purposes of daily life. Their prose was meant for great subjects and for great moments of thought and elevation. Their prose was not fit for ordinary every day subjects which come home to men's business and bosoms. As Hugh Walker puts it, "their prose was ill adapted to the pedestrian passages". The sentences were long; parentheses were very common. Bacon shared these defects in his larger works. But in the essays he did set the example. He used the Prose which became the Prose of the Essayists who came after him. He became in spite of himself the father of English prose. This point is to be particularly noted. Bacon did not value the English Language, as such, very much. He was convinced that "these modern languages will at one time or other play the bankrupt with books". Even about his essays he thought that in Latin they would last as long as book lasts. In spite of this faith in Latin Bacon unconsciously became the master of English prose style. Legouis in his *History of English Literature* rightly points out, "It is therefore only in spite of himself that Bacon ranks among English Prose writers, and only in virtue of the least of his works, his Essay........." And he further adds "it is the more surprising that he could handle English prose so surely and vigorously that he became, in spite of himself, one of the first prose writers of his country."

Comparison with other Prose writers of the time : Bacon's contribution to English prose style and his place as a prose writer becomes absolutely clear when we campare him with other prose writers of his time. English prose before Bacon was rich and musical. Hooker, who wrote the famous *Ecclesiastical Polity* was still considered one of the great Prose stylists of the time. So was Raleigh. Both

these writers along with many others had certain obvious defects and mannerism of their style. Their sentences were long; they were full of parentheses; the diction was highly latinised. To speak in the words of Dr. Johnson "their language might befit the mouths of Whales, but it was not suitable for little fishes". In other words it was not the prose of everyday life. Bacon in his serious works like *The Advancement of Learning*" shared these very defects with his contemporaries. But in his Essays he showed the difference. The style of Bacon's essays was suitable, for describing buildings and gardens, matters concerning truth death and life, and problems of suitors and publicmen, For the first time he created a prose which could sink to the familiarity of daily life. The sentences were short, with shortness came lucidity, and the result was Bacon did set the example, he did furnish the model of the prose style which was to become the standard style of successive generations of prose writers.

In doing so it is true his sentences did not achieve that extraordinary music which is seen in the style of Brooke and Donne, Burton and Thomas Browne, Milton and Jeremy Taylor, all possess an extraordinary music. No doubt, his prose lacks their majesty and strength. If Bacon's prose lost that extraordinary music, that majesty and strength, it acquired a new virtue : it became pedestrian. So, when we compare Bacon with Hooker, Raleigh Donne, Sir Thomas Browne, Jeremy Taylor, his famous predecessors and contemporaries, we find Bacon lacking in certain qualities of prose style which they possess. But in losing those qualities and making his prose less musical and Bacon took the longest step ever taken in the evolution of English prose style.

Anti-Ciceronian Movement : No doubt it can be said to a certain extent that Bacon's prose style is based, to a large measure, on the classical standards. Like his predecessors and contemporaries he could not escape the influence of Cicero. Concentration is one of the great principles of classical art. There is in his style, particularly in his serious works, the general ornateness, the fondness for imagery, the love of analogy and metaphor.

They were very much in taste of the time; all these qualities were the result of Cicero's influence· In spite of these defects of the time, Bacon in his Essays introduced a simplified form of English Prose. In this respect he can be said to have joined the Anti-Ciceronian Movement which had begun at that time. The purpose of this Movement was to simplify the English Prose. A critic of Bacon correctly puts it, "He put aside the elaborate affectaions of Lyly, and while not free from mannerism, struck a happy compromise between the straightforward simplicity of Ascham and highly coloured complexity of Euphuism". He wrote a comparatively easy and lucid prose in an age when such simplicity and conversational ease were at a discount. Hugh Walker says, "To Bacon, in short, we are largely indebted for making good that which had been the chief of English literature. Till the closing years of the sixteenth century, except, in translations, no one had shown a mastery of the principles of prose. Then Bacon showed such mastery".

His two Styles : Bacon shows two different styles in his Essays. If we read the first edition of his Essays which was brought out in the year 1597 and then read his third edition published in 1525, we note a clear change in the style of these two editions. Macaulay was the first person to point out these two styles in the essays of Bacon in his famous essay on Bacon.

(*a*) The first style can be called curt, stenographic, and antithetical. This style is prominent in the first edition of his Essays. A quotation from one of the essays of the first edition will make the point clear :

"Crafty men condemn studies, simple men admire them, and wise men use them; for they teach not their own use : that is a wisdom without them, and won by observation. Read not to contradict, nor to believe, but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed and some few to be chewed and digested. Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man, and writing an exact man. And therefore if a man write little, he had need have a great memory ; if he confer little, have a present wit ; and if he read little, have much cunning to

seem to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise, poets witty, the mathematics subtle, natural philosophy deep, morals grave, logic rhetoric, able to contend".

This quotation, if carefully studied, shows that the sentences are nearly all short, crisp, sententious. There are few connectives. Each sentence stands by itself. It is the concentrated expression of weighty thought. When, therefore, it is said that each sentence of Bacon essays contains matter for a paragraph of an ordinary writer, the statement is true. However, it does not mean that the sentence of Bacon does the work of the paragraph. It simply means it is a tense, concentrated masculine style. This aspect of Bacon's style has been often called aphoristic. This style Bacon continues to a very great extent in the second edition of his Essays. But the third and the final editions show some change in this style.

(b) From curt, stenographic and aphoristic style of the first edition of his essays Bacon moves into a style which is comparatively looser and persuasive. Sentences are not so very curt; there are more connectives. The discontinuity and abstract nature of the early sentences are replaced by unified sentences. Moreover, the sentences are enriched by examples and quotations, by metaphor and cadence. This becomes clear from the following quotation:

"Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament, adversity is the blessing of the New which carrieth the greater bendiction and the clearer evidence of God's favour. Yet, even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes; and adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needle-works and embroideries it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground. Judge therefore of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant

when they are incensed; or crushed; for prosperity does best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue."

The first quotation made it clear how Bacon could compress so much thought into so small a space. The second passage, on the other hand, shows how he was making his style richer and softer. No doubt, even now the sentences continue to be short. But he is more inclined to the looser, more mathodical and persuasive style which he had used in *The Advancement of Learning*. This change in style is mainly a change in making the sentences more rich by giving examples and quotations, images and metaphors. But it should be noted that even this change in style does not effect Bacon's cool objectivity. He was a scientific analyst who does not gossip and ramble. Everywhere we come across in his style his impersonality and Tacitean brevity. There is no grandiloquence. In spite of this aphoristic and abstract nature of his style one thing can always be said about his greatness. His short sentences had enough flexibility. His style could fit itself easily to buildings and gardens, to studies, and friendships, to truth and death. It could sink to the lowest level of familiarity and could describe the movements of the human mind and every day affairs of the world. It could at the same time rise to a high level where comparison between the things of this world and the movements of heavenly body could be easily made. This was a very big achievement indeed.

Reason behind this change in his style: It has been suggested that Bacon wrote on a considerable number of different subjects, and that, like a reasonable man, he varied his expression to suit them. So we have different styles in his essays, the *Advancement of Learning*, and in *The History of Henry the Seventh.* But we are not concerned with the different styles of Bacon. The point under discussion is that his style in the Essays changed from the first edition to the last edition of the Essays. Macaulay suggests that this change of style in Bacon's Essays was mainly because of his mental development which was now of a higher order. His judgement had grown faster. But his conclusion can be questioned. Hugh Walker is right in suggesting that the change in style was because of the change in Bacon's conception of the essay.

The change of style cannot be attributed to the growth of Bacon's mind for the simple reason that the style of the final edition of his Essays is to a certain degree the style of *The Advancement of Learning* which was published in 1605. In fact Bacon already knew the style of the third and final edition of his Essays. This has been made clear by a famous critic, Douglas Bush in the following words: "That Bacon was aware of a more fluid form is sufficiently indicated by other early writings." So Macaulay's inference that the change in style was because of Bacon's imaginative development is not justified. The fact is that Bacon changed his style because the form the essay in his last edition demanded that type of change. At this period the essay was not merely "dispersed meditations". When he wrote the first edition of his Essays, he strongly believed that the essay was merely an attempt at a subject. It was something incomplete: it has to carry with it on the surface the visible marks of its unfinished condition. The Essays were mainly jottings. Therefore the sentences are nearly all short, crisp and aphoristic. The connective are not worked out and expressed but are implicit and can be supplied by the intelligence of an alert reader. When he wrote the third and the final edition of his essays, he had come to believe that "the essays were the best fruits of his pen and labours." He had considerably changed the conception of the essay. In other words he had completely realized the function and the possibilities of the essay form. He knew that these essays were to "come to men's business and bosoms." Therefore, the demand of this new conception of the essay was that the style instead of being curt should be persuasive, instead of being abstract and cold, it should possess more warmth and colour. This new demand of the new conception and function of the essay made Bacon to write the essays in his third edition in the same persuasive style which he had earlier used in *The Advancement of Learning*." He now finds room for conjunction and connective clauses. His keen sense of analogy enables him to discover illustrations everywhere. Mataphors and similies are frequent and sometimes they have a poetic qualities.

It will be convenient to arrange our summary of the

remarks of several well-known critics on Bacon's style, under certain heads.

(A) Elements of Style : Under this head we proceed to speak of Bacon's Vocabulary, use of Quotations, Sentences, Paragraphs, and Figures of Speech.

(*a*) *Vocabulary* : Bacon's stock of words is exceptionally rich, being hardly inferior to that of any English writer except Shakespeare. He draws upon the whole field of his studies—literary as well as scientific. His reading was, however, limited principally to the classical Latin authors, the Vulgate (English Version of the Bible) or Latin version of Bible, and some of the Fathers and medieval philosophers. But though he uses, as might be expected, many Latinisms, his vocabulary is not,—like Milton's for instance—mainly classical ; on the contrary, the Tentonic or Saxon element preponderates though he does not studiously affect short or monosyllabic words, and is ready to use big words where he finds them more suitable or expressive. Nor does he avoid archaic words and turns of expression. But while he uses a far greater number of obsolete words than Richard Hooker or other contemporary prose writers, he has no decided taste for the archaic, like Spenser. This is accounted for by the fact that Bacon's acquaintance with the older English writers, such as Chaucer and Wycliffe, was extremely limited.

(*b*) *Quotations* : Bacon's quotations are so numerous that they may be said to be quite a feature of his style. But then the practice was a very common one in his time, and was not looked upon as a sign of pedanty ; nor are his quotations so very numerious as those of some of his contemporaries, notably Robert Burton, the author of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. His quotations show the range of his reading, as it was his habit to jot down any expression or turn of thought that struck his fancy. A favourite quotation is, moreover, found recurring again and again, as indeed are favourite stories and such turns of expression and thought as are original. He quotes chiefly from the sources mentioned above (under the head of *Vocabulary*, it being remarkable that hardly any use is made of older or contemporary English authors, and that there is not a single reference to Shakespeare in the whole range of his writings. One peculia-

rity of the quotations is that they are often inaccurate. In palliation of this, it should be observed that he generally quotes from memory, and that misquotation was not looked upon as a grievous literary sin in his time.

(*c*) ***Sentences*** : Bacon's sentences are more modern in their structure than those of other Elizabethan prose-writers—being more pointed and less involved. Even his more intricate sentences are so carefully constructed, and so free from inversions, that the meaning is not difficult to catch. The ***Essay***, in particular, are remarkable for "balance and point", as might naturally be expected from their aphoristic style.

(*d*) ***Paragraphs*** : It must be borne in mind that in Bacon's time, little attention was given to the logical division of a subject into paragraphs. It was often left to the printer to throw sentences into paragraphs as he found convenient. Accordingly, modern editors often think themselves justified in adopting any arrangement of paragraphs they find suitable, specially in the case of the ***Essays***. As Prof. Minto remarks - "The Essays are of a peculiar structure. They are not they intended to be, consecutive expositions ; each is a string of detached reflections and maxims bearing upon the same subject.

(*e*) ***Figures of Speech*** : Hardly any English writer is so rich in similitudes as Bacon. It has already been remarked that, as a rule, his later writings are more ornate in this respect than his earlier ones. It is characteristic of these figures, that they do not seem laboured, but appear to have naturally suggested themselves to his mind, essentially poetical as it was, in a certain sense of the word,—namely, as regards the power of perceiving hidden analogies, and of applying them felicitously. Some writers, like Macaulay, have treated of this feature of Bacon's style as an evidence of his wit. There is no necessary antagonism between these two views. Another peculiarity about his metaphors should be noticed,—that they are drawn in many cases from natural phenomena, especially those concerning weather, and those drawn from the art of medicine, the human body, its disorders, etc. Besides metaphors, Bacon uses antithesis and balance, to give point to his observations.

(B) Qualities of Style: Under this head may be noticed Bacon's Simplicity, Strength, Brevity, Clearness, and Precision—

(*a*) *Simplicity*: This cannot be said to be a characteristic of Bacon's style. His writings are simple only in the sense of being free from all affectation, from any studied elegance in the choice of words or in the structure of sentences. He avoids with equal care both pedantry and vulgarity, though he has no scruple in using homely illustrations, where such illustrations would be more telling than those drawn from the science and the arts.

(*b*) *Strength*: It has been observed by a critic that "the quality of strength in Becon's style is intellectual rather than emotional". That is, he has little taste for any energetic display of feeling; but he says what he has to say as vigorously and tersely as possible, so that the truth he has to impart might make the greatest possible impression upon the mind of the reader.

(*c*) *Brevity*: Indeed, the secret of Bacon's strength lies in his conciseness. Hardly any writer, ancient or modern, has succeeded in compressing so much meaning within so short a compass; several of the *Essays*—e.g., those on *Studies* and *Negotiating*—are marvels of condensation.

(*d*) *Clearness*: What is remarkable in Bacon's brevity is that it is never purchased at the expense of perspicuity. *The Essays* do indeed present certain difficulties to modern readers—such of them, that is, as are unfamiliar with Elizabethan English, because many words and phrases have become antiquated. But the language is always lucid, even where the most abrupt transitions of thought occur, and where the connection between consecutive sentences appears very loose. The secret of the clearness of his style is the clearness of his thoughts. "Though deep, yet clear"—these words are more appropriate in characterizing Bacon's writings than those of almost any other author,

(*e*) *Precision*: Prof. Minto observes that "we cannot concede to him the praise of scientific precision", but that

he was aware of the danger of loosely applying the same term to matters not precisely alike,—especially in theological controversies. Bacon's precision shows itself most characteristically in the incisiveness of his style ; "his words and figures go straight to the point".

Criticism of His Style : Generally Bacon's style is criticised on two grounds. (1) Sometimes it is said that his style is so curt and pithy that it becomes obscure. The grammatical structure is loose and therefore at times ambiguous. Shortness of sentences has created a kind of obscurity which could only be removed by writing sentences which were properly connected by connectives. This criticism is not vey just. In his philosophical work Bacon sometimes does become obscure but in his essays his style does not suffer from this defect. Hís defects are mainly the defects of his age. His style is definitely more lucid in comparison with the other prose writers of the time. Hooker, Raleigh, Donne, Jeremy Taylor could write a prose which was cumbrous, rhetorical and very often obscure. But in the essays of Bacon, as Hugh Walker points out, "With shortness came lucidity." Without doubt Bacon's style had moved away from the Elizabethans in the directiou of order, discipline, and argumentation. He clearly shows in the style of his essays vividness, clarity, control and force. It however, does not mean that he is free from the defects of the prose style of the writers of his time. He does become at times rhetorical and loses control and clarity. (2) Another criticism of Bacon's style is that it lacks emotional depth. In other words the critics say that he wrote mainly from the head and not from the heart. This criticism is to a very large extent correct. But it should not blind us to the fact that his writing on certain matters he could achieve great emotional depth. For example whenever he wrote on scientific subjects which were so close to his heart, his style would become emotional. He wrote from the heart. Even on religious matters he could write with a high intensity of emotions. Theodore Redpath, an eminent critic of Bacon, rightly suggests that "it must be admitted that much of Bacon's prose has a calm, sententious poise, he can certainly write prose strongly impregnated with feeling." Therefore

the proper criticism of Bacon in this respect is that though he can write with some emotional depth on two or three subjects, he cannot write with the same intensity of emotions on many other subjects which he handled. In other words the emotional range of Bacon's prose style is very narrow. Perhaps Bacon deliberately avoided too many emotions as he was concerned with scientific kird of writing,

Summing up : We have noticed some main points of Bacon's style. We find it aphoristic, curt, pithy and sententious. On the other hand, we find it at times rhetorical, ornate and highly coloured by imagery and metaphor. Now the question is : Where does Bacon stand in respect of his style ? Is he an Elizabethan in his style ? Or Is he a Jacobean in his style ? Or is he the precursor of the new prose style which was taken up by Dryden later on. The best answer to all these questions will be : Bacon was in certain respects an Elizabethan, in certain other respects he was a Jacobean, and in certain other respects he was ahead of his time in his style. In so much so that he was ahead of his time, he can be called the precursor of the prose style which Dryden and his followers adopted later on. It cannot be disputed that Bacon had moved away from the Elizabethans in many respects in his style. The Elizabethans wrote long winding sentences, full of high sounding words and rich imagery. In Bacon's style, in comparison with Elizabethans there is order, discipline, and argumentation. Moreover, he has moved away in the direction of reason rather than the full play of the emotions. In doing so he loses much of the music of the Elizabethans. But instead he achieved vividness, clarity, control and force. At the same time it has to be admitted that he retains some of the qualities of the Elizabethans. So the best estimate of Bacon's style and his place in the evolution of the English prose style is given by Theodoer Redpath when he says, "It is probably more helpful simply to say than Bacon occupies in prose style a position somewhere between the plentiful in regular vitality of the typical Elizabethans and the late 17th century barer styles already anticipates that drier style ; sometimes, on the other hand, his prose to point backwards" In simple words we can say that in prose style Bacon stands somewhere between the Elizabethans and the

late 17th century writers. It should be clearly admitted that in this position Bacon did a great service to the cause of English prose style. Hugh Walker has said it very correctly, "He took one of the longest steps ever taken in the evolution of English prose style ; a style which set that style on the road which it travelled, though not without divagations, down to the days of Swift and Addison".

Influences (classical and otherwise) on Bacon's Style: When one examines Bacon's literary style as the outcome of his reading and study, it presents the same anomaly as his moral character. He was a diligent reader of Cicero, and he had so little faith in the English language that he had his *Essays* translated into Latin to preserve them in what he called "the universal language". But the *Essays* "come home to men's business and bosoms" precisely because in forming his English style Bacon is not Ciceronian and rhetorical. He quotes a pun of Caesar's and one of his apophthegms, but nothing more ; he does not mention Catullus ; and yet in English Bacon displays the same quality of style that distinguishes the *Commentaries* of Caesar and the lyric poetry of Catullus. It is the Attic style, which aims at idiomatic purity, not only in choice of words, but also in a simple and even severe correctness of construction, *urbanitas*, as the Latin says. Dr. Rawley tells us that Bacon was always seeking the "clear" word and could not but be "polite", that is, urbane. In hitting upon just the right word, Bacon exhibits everywhere a mastery of his art that is as subtle as it is inimitable. Of beautiful and striking antitheses Bacon is full. It adds much to the pleasure of reading Bacon's *Essays* to be sensitive to the fulness and nicety of meaning of the well-chosen words used. This principle in the stylistic code of the Atticists is the conversational tone, the *loqui* of Caesar, not the *dicere* of Cicero. It is vastly more difficult to put elegance and dignity and weight into conversational language, than to write with rhetorical flourishes, to express the thought in fine language merely. It can be accomplished, as Bacon accomplished it, by taking constant pains. Dr. Rawley goes on : "Neither was he (Bacon) given to any light conceits or descanting upon words, but did ever purposely and industriously avoid them ; for he held such things to be but digressions or diversions

from the scope intended, and to derogate from the weight and dignity of the style."

The Attic style is particularly hard to write in English, because English is naturally a discursive language. Bacon caught it in the first place from the happy accident of being an Elizabethan. Again, Bacon's mind was a thoroughly logical one. Every new acquisition of its full content fell into its proper place with great distinctness. Lastly, Bacon was a Latinist, and Latin is the one language, ancient or modern, that can say the most in the fewest words.

The Roman Atticist who most affected Bacon's style is his favourite philosophical historian, Tacitus. As stylists, the likenesses and differences between Tacitus and Bacon are of interest. Both writers were keen observers of men and things, the minds of both were naturally analytic, both possessed the faculty of crystallizing psychological or eithical or general truth in pointed epigrams or well-balanced antitheses. Bacon is fond of quoting from Tacitus the brief and telling sentences in which he summed up the character of a man, or the tone of an era. On the other hand, Bacon carefully avoided the rhetorical faults which lay Tacitus's style open to the charge of occasional obscurity. Bacon did not coin words, neither did he put new meaning into old words, nor use rare and uncommon expressions. He has no tricks of singularity. His is an art so bare and open that it even suggests no art, stylessness. Instead of the laboured obscurity here and there in Tacitus, Bacon's style is illuminated by the play of a great imagination, which suggested to him now a picturesque word, and now a striking comparison. Finally, Tacitus lived in the decline of an era, and his prevailing tone was grave and pessimistic. Over Bacon's style there rests the severity of philosophic calm. The English Tacitus was born in a great age, and he was a lover of his fellow-men.

Tacitus more than any other outhor contributed to the swiftness and philosophic range of Bacon's thought; and the other classical writers who helped to make him "a full man", stand, after Tacitus, probably in this order; Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch, Livy, Virgil, Ovid, the two Plinies, Suetonius, Lucretius, Lucian, Caesar, Plautus, Terence, Horace, Martial,

Plato, Homer, Herodotus and Aristotle. The Greeks make way for the Romans in this list, both in number and in frequency of quotation. Plutarch was a favourite Greek author with Bacon, as he was with Shakespeare and the other Elizabethans. There are two reasons for the popularity of Plutarch at that time. The active and inquiring minds of the Elizabethans enjoyed Plutarch as an all-round man. He satisfied their intellectual curiosity on many points. Besides, Plutarch was the most fortunate of the Greeks in contemporary translation. Thomas North's translation of Plutarch (publish in 1579), from the French of Jacques Amyot, was done in simple, idiomatic, picturesque prose, the best English prose that had been written up to that time. North's masterly manner in prose was to develop into Bacon himself and into the translators of the Authorized Version of the Bible.

In general reading, Bacon quotes the Fathers, St. Augustine and St. Bernard. Of Frenchmen, he alludes to Rabelais as "a master of scoffing". He also shows acquaintance with Comines's *History of Louis XI*, a serene, dispassionate, philosophical account of that Machiavellian prince. Comines was a historian after Bacon's own heart.

Besides, the title of his *Essays*, Bacon adopted from Montaigne the idea of popularizing moral philosophy. Montaigne had discoursed delightfully of the philosophy of common things for Frenchmen. Montaigne's reflections of life centre in his own individuality. Fortunately, it was a great and original individuality, disciplined by the conduct of affairs, and cultivalted by books and society and travel. With that equipment Montaigne tells us from his tower what he thought of life. He is garrulous, he is personal, he is familiar, "the intimate friend, of us all". Bacon's philosophy of life is nearly as impersonal as Shakespeare's ; it is brief, almost blunt ; it has a remote air, as if Seneca had indeed inspired it. The love of classical learning, breadth of view, benevolence, and wit are qualities which distinguish alike the essays of Michel de Montaigne and Francis Bacon.

CHAPTER VII

BACON AS A MORALIST

Contradictory Opinions: When we consider Bacon as a moralist, different types of contradictory opinions come to our mind. Perhaps the words of Pope strike the imagination first of all:

'The wisest, brightest and the meanest of mankind.'

So in the opinion of Pope Bacon's morals were very poor and he was the meanest of mankind. Then this attitude has been given weight by more and more writers. Lytton Strachey in his famous book "Elizabeth and Essex" compares Bacon to a snake. In other words he felt that Bacon's morals and principles were as low as to compel us to compare him to a snake and nothing else. Even Hugh Walker, a very sympathetic critic, calls Bacon an opportunist. To quote his words, "The *Essays* seem to be the work of an opportunist." Not only this, Hugh Walker points out that the moral tone of Bacon's *Essays* is not at all elevating. As against these critical opinions about Bacon's morals, we have some opinions where Bacon's morals have been strongly defended. The name of Ben Jonson stands out clearly in this respect. Speaking of Bacon he said, "No man ever coughed or turned aside from him without loss." Then we have Spedding. In his famous book on Bacon he has made all attempts to show that Bacon was really a moral person. He had nothing of the evil qualities which are generally associated with him. In spite of this defence the controversy continues. Most of Bacon's critics are not prepared to accept the view that he was a moralist of a high degree. They continue to argue that his morals are low and he wanted to preach the ways of Satan to mankind. Long, in his *History of English Literature* says, "The industry of his biographer, Mr. Spedding, has not wholly redeemed the character of Bacon, whose personality does not endear him

to mankind, and was not on a level with his genius." Even Hudson is compelled to say that Bacon sacrificed much by way of morals in his personal life. In his words, Bacon "sacrificed much for the sake of wealth and power and the satisfaction of his inordinate ambitions; while his moral teaching too often resolves itself into the narrowest expediency and utilitarianism." More and more opinions can be quoted to show that Bacon as a moralist has been looked down upon by most critics. In the words of Hallam he was "a man who, being entrusted with the highest gifts of Heaven, habitually abused them for the poorest purposes of earth-hired them out for guineas places, and titles in the service of injustice, covetousness, and oppression."

In view of these contradictory opinions it is somewhat difficult to judge Bacon as a moralist. One thing is very clear. His personality was a complex one. He was a curious combination and a strange mixture of intellectual strength and moral weekness. Even as Pope admits it, he was both the brightest and the meanest of mankind. To an ordinary person the wisdom and the meanness in him went together. Then we should also remember that he lived in an age which is removed from us by more than 350 years. The morals then were different from the morals now. So when one judge Bacon as a moralist one should not be hasty in passing the judgment. As Matheson suggests, "The very complexity of his character has its attraction, and the psychological problem of the wisest, brightest and meanest of mankind will continue to engage the attention of the historians and the philosophers." Finding the task of judging Bacon as a moralist very difficult William J. Long is very correct in his attitude when he says, "Bacon was apparently one of those double natures that only God is competent to judge." In other words it simply means that we should not be rash in our judgment of Bacon as a moralist. We should remember that he was a man who was remarkably gifted with many things of life. He was intellectually a giant, in almost all fields of human study. He was a bell-ringer who made people conscious for the first time of the importance of history, philosophy, science. Such a person demands study with a sense of humility.

His morals are of this world : Whatever may be said about Bacon as a moralist, the one thing which is absolutely clear about him is that his morals are the morals of this world. As a moralist, he does not preach things of the spirit and soul. He is mainly concerned with counsels civil and moral. The word 'moral' here is not used in its high ethical sense. Bacon was very practical in his character. Therefore the *Essays* concerned themselves mostly with the conduct of life in private and public affairs. The result is that they "come home to men's business and bosoms". The phrase 'business and bosoms' is Bacon's own and was interpreted by him in a very limited and practical sense. As regards his understanding of the affairs of the world, nobody perhaps can doubt the wisdom of his morality. In the problems that men faced in the conduct of life he shows extraordinary insight and wisdom. As Hudson puts it, "Beyond perhaps any other book of the same size in any literature they are loaded with the ripest wisdom of experience." But we must never forget that the wisdom that they carry is on the whole a wisdom of wordly kind. The whole volume of his *Essays* may be read through in an evening. But the morals that they carry are very different from the morals, for example, a play of Shakespeare carries. To point out that his philosophy and morals were of this world, a few quotations may be quoted. Speaking of love he says that it is something that is good for the stage and not for the life of man. "For as to the stage, love is ever matter of comedies, and now and then of tragedies ; but in life it doth much mischief." Speaking of nobility he says, "Besides, noble persons cannot go much higher : and he that standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly avoid motions of envy." Obviously there can be nothing more wordly than this. Speaking of Empire and a King's role in making it, he says, "King have to deal with their neighbours, their wives, their children, their prelates or clergy, their nobles, their second-nobles or gentlemen, their merchants, their commons, and their men of war; and from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not used." These quotations show it that he was a master in the art of managing man.

Suggested by G. H. Mair in his book *Modern English*

Literature "Human Nature and How To Manage It" would be a good title for his *Essays*, but unfortunately men are not studied as children of God having some share of the divine itself. Men are studied in the spirit of Machiavelli. Most of the essays deal with public matters. In his morals Bacon is mostly suggesting things for statesmen and princes, instructing them how to acquire power and how to keep it. He points out how far they may go safely in the direction of self-interest, and to what degree the principle of self-interest must be subordinated to the wider interest of the people who are ruled. Throughout the essays the moral tone is the tone of a man concerned with the matters of this world. The famous French critic Legouis is very correct when he points out that "it is the art of success among men which is the subject of his essays. He points man to the part he should play on the stage of social life, as is indicated in the sub-title of this book : *Counsels Civil and Morals*". As morals of this world, his sayings have singular force and weight. Many of them have become proverbs.

In his moral tone elevating : We have already seen that his morals are the morals of this world. There are many others in this world who have done the same job in their writings. For example there is the Chinese philosopher Confusius. In his Book he preaches morals which are of this world. But his tone is elevating ; his morals are good to the moral life of the people. Nowhere does he become base or an opportunist. In case of Bacon this cannot be said. Unfortunately the moral tone of his essays is not elevating. Quite often he appears to be a crafty and clever man preaching the things which belong to the Kingdom of Satan. Material success and service to humanity were his objects in life. Both these aims were high but they came in conflict with each other in his own life. He cared more for material success and personal considerations The result was that his tone suffered. He became very often a selfish and self seeking person. This impression is confirmed by the reading of his essays. He admires truth, moral as well as intellectual. He was noble and honest in the persuit of intellectual problems. Naturally in his essays he says. "Clear and round dealing is the ho-

nour of man's nature". But then at the same time he cannot help saying things which are morally bad. He says in the same breath in which he admires truth that "a mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure". He also points out that "mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better", though the metal may be debased. The same kind of dubious moral tone prevails in his essay on *Simulation and Dissimulation*. His conclusion in that essay is that "The best composition and temperature is: to have openness in fame and opinion; secrecy in habit; dissimulation in seasonably use; and a power to feign, if there be no remedy". Hugh Walker rightly points out, "It is not an elevated or an elevating ideal". Even in matters where emotional life is concerned Bacon's moral tone is not elevating and encouraging. In his opinion wife and children are "hostages to fortune", "impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or of mischief". The moral tone in his *Essays* is decidedly questionable. In comparison he has much better things to say in his serious philosophical works where scholarship and not human nature, is his concern. Under the system of *Instauraeio Magna* he wrote the *De Augmentis* and *Novum Organum* and in both these works he is a brilliant person and his entire tone is highly encouraging. A man of mean intellect could have never described the doctrine of the Idols in book I of the *Novum Organum*. In his opinion there are four kinds of Idols: Idols of the Tribe, Idols of the Cave, Idols of the Market place, and Idols of the Theatre. All these Idols are the sources of error in humanity. This kind of intellectual and dignified tone is very much absent from his *Essays*. He had high hopes as regards the principles of investigation in science. But his methods he hoped that the secret of nature might be solved completely before long. But, as Hugh Walker suggests, "He had no such hopes with regard to the principle of morals...... The *Essays* seems to be the work of an opportunist." In fact the more we read his *Essays*, the more we are charmed by their brilliant and pithy expressions, but the more we feel that Bacon had hardly any faith in the existence of principles of absolute validity.

Largeness of mind but narrowness of the soul: The

one reason that explains this lack of high moral tone in Bacon's *Essays* is the peculiar nature and qualifications of the man himself. He was gifted with a rare largeness of mind but unfortunately he had a very narrow soul. In other words things of the mind appealed to him very much but things of the heart and the soul were a closed book to him. He could not respond to them in the same degree in which he responded to things of the mind. His serious philosophical and scientific works bear testimony to it. Regarding his intellectual understanding and the largeness of his mind Macaulay has rightly compared his understanding to the tent which the fairy Paribana gave to Prince Ahmed. In the words of Macaulay Bacon's understanding "resembled the tent which the fairy Paribana gave to Prince Ahmed. Fold it; and it seems a toy for the hand of a lady. Spread it; and the armies of powerful Sultans might repose beneath its shade" In simple words it means that his small mind could contain very many big thoughts and ideas. The largeness of his mind was all his own. In keenness of observation he has been equalled but not surpassed. But unfortunately his largeness of mind was not matched with an equal largeness of the heart. Some quotations from his *Essays* prove this point convincingly. Even on matters where an ordinary man shows largeness of heart and feeling, he is cold and narrow. The inevitable result is that his morals also become narrow and limited. Speaking of parents and children, of marriage and single life, of love, of friendship, he shows how much he lacks by way of high and noble feelings of life. He does recognise that "children sweeten labours" but he adds at the same time that "they make misfortunes more bitters". Similarly he recognises the joys of married life but at the same time he goes on saying, "Unmarried men are best friends, best masters, best servants; but not always best subjects; for they are light to run away; and almost all fugitives are of that condition". Perhaps all of us who have lived in this world know that married people are not disqualified to become great friends. In fact in his *Essays* dealing with domestic relations he constantly shows this narrowness in ideas and morals, He feels that " Wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity", but he fails to realize that they are also capable

of a wider influence in human life. Hugh Walker very rightly points out, "Evidently Bacon was both deficient in and disposed to underrate the emotional element". His own marriage was a marriage of convenience and he himself perhaps never enjoyed those larger feelings which are associated with happy married life. Similarly speaking of love he finds it suitable for the stage than the life of man. How sadly mistaken he is. He considers love 'the child of folly'. In his opinion in life love doth much mischief and he concludes by asserting that it is impossible "to love and to be wise". Here it is interesting to compare him with Shakespeare. The comparison establishes it without a doubt that Bacon was narrow in his morals and did not understand the things of the heart. Shakespeare in many of his plays has shown us the folly of love. He has described the mischief that love can create in life. No reader can ever forget the mischief of love created in Shakespeare's famous tragedy *Othello*. Othello loved Desdemona but his ears were poisoned by a very mean character Iago. The result was that in Othello's love the element of revenge entered and he killed the lovely Desdemona. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream* Shakespeare points out the folly of love. Laughing at the human beings who lose all senses and wisdom under the mad influence of love he says—'What fools these mortals be!' But nowhere does Shakespeare underrate the value of love. Nowhere does he call it the child of folly. Throughout his works love is a very noble feeling which makes human life grand and noble. It is the conviction of Shakespeare and his works are a monument of this faith. Bacon's *Essay* on love and other emotional matters show that Bacon never shared such a faith. So the point we are trying to prove is that if Bacon's moral tone is not elevating and encouraging it is mainly because he is deficient in the powers of the heart. When he wrote his *Essays* he wrote mainly with his brain centred like that of a mathematician. In fact as Tillotson points out, "He seems often, indeed, to have written with his head severed and placed keenly before him on the table, an inch or two beyond the further edge of the manuscript". In simple words it means that Bacon had a very active brain, full of remarkable informations, and he wrote his *Essays* mainly

with his head active all the time. He folded his heart away. And this precisely led to the narrowness of morals and coldness of moral tone. This impression is further confirmed if we read some of his essays where the mind alone had to work and the heart had no place. For example in all the essays where he deals with political questions and the character and duties of statesmen, his moral tone is comparatively more elevating than in the *Essays* where he deals with matters of the heart. Among the weightiest of his *Essays* are those which treat of political questions. Nowhere is 'his wisdom better shown than here. The essay "Of Plantations" is a remarkable example in this respect. The essay is full of sound and wise wisdom. Nowhere in the essay does Bacon say such silly things as he said in his essay *Of Love* or *Of Marriage and Single Life*. Hugh Walker goes on to the length of saying that his wisdom and ideas in his political essays are so sound that : "Had they been accepted from Bacon the worst mistakes of England in her relations with the Colonies might have been avoided". Not only this, in these political essays Bacon shows some largeness of heart along with largeness of mind. But on the whole he is deficient in the powers of the heart, and thus narrow in his moral outlook.

Morality of His Age : So far in our discussion we have maintained that Bacon's morals are narrow and his moral tone is not elevating and encouraging. It is not of the same breadth and of the same quality as that of Shakespeare. But this conclusion should not blind us to one simple fact that Bacon's morals are the morals of his Age. The *Essays* were affected by the events of the time and reflect the features of the life in which they were written. The buildings and gardens described in the *Essays* are those of the great nobles. The kingdom and politics are again those of his own age or of the Graeco-Roman world. Naturally, as Matheson points out, "His reflections on public policy take the colour of his age". In other words his essays reflect his experience of men and the world with whom he lived. They reveal a habit of thought and action which is naturally generated under despotic role. When all depends on the favour of one man, men will try to gain his favour, by hook or by crook. The result is

that the peculiar topics of his essays are the topics which deal with the art of *cunning*, the *behaviour of suitors*, the advantages *of simulation and dissimulation* and other subjects of the same kind. F. G. Selby very correctly points out, "probably nothing in the whole range of literature would have been more appreciated in the court of an oriental despot than these essays........." So in judging the morals of Bacon we should bear this fact in mind that he was writing in an Age and in the Court where the pleasure of one person was the very qualification to go up in life. The temptations of his age were different from the temptations of our age. Naturally the morals of his time would be different from the morals of our time. We may not desire the friendship of the great and yet we may acquire an eminent position in life. But the friendship of the great in his time was the only way to rise in social life and the abandonment of the old friends in time of danger was a less repulsive aspect to an age in which fortune and virtue were recognised as the only important foctor in public life. In stead of the friendship of the great we have today the flattery of the party. In Bacon's age all statesmen lived dangerously and the prison and the scaffold were familiar incidents in his life. Plots and counterplots had not disappeared; they were considered worthy and legitimate means to secure power. Naturally, Bacon in his essays advocates them. The morality of his age was not of a high order, and the morality of his essays consequently suffered from the lack of high moral tone. And yet in comparison his morals are slightly better than the morals of his age. Hugh Walker rightly suggests, "A careful and candid reading of the *Essays* will show that Bacon's morality is higher than that of average humanity ...." But it should not make us forget that it was not the highest morality for which the best of mankind aspire.

Summing up : From the above discussion two things emerge (1) That Bacon was a highly gifted person with remarkable intellectual powers. In his intellectual pursuits he was sincere, honest and, we can say without hesitation, a moral person.

(2) But in his relations with other men and in his *Essays*

dealing with higher principles of life, he appears to be an opportunist preaching lower morals than we would expect from a really great men. Here we can say in defence of Bacon that he was corrupted by the age in which he lived. It was an age of court intrigue, plots and counterplots, personal ,ambition; and Bacon summited to all these. He became a part of this game of politics going on around him all the time. The result is that when he deals with questions of individual morality he cannot speak in ennobling and uplifting tone. As a political moralist, how. ever, he is in a far better position. He can advise sincerely on certain political matters. Hugh Walker rightly observes that "he is always, at heart, a political moralist that lowers his tone in the other class of cases". It is a matter of common knowledge that in Bacon's time there was a big difference in the morality of public life and the morality of private life. Bacon accepted this difference and could not advocate higher morality for private life along with political life. This is his weakness as a moralist. A really great person is not merely a creature of his age; he does not share the weaknesses of his time. He rises above them and acts as a beacon light to the rest of humanity. Take the case of Milton : a he was born in an age of disturbance transition and changing moral values. But in his writings he always cared for the best and the highest. Bacon to this extent has failed. He could not rise above the weaknesses of his time. When he lived in the Court of Elizabeth and later on James I, he found favourites to be conciliated. He had many rivals to be outwitted. Ready obedience was more valued than honest independence. Pleasure of the King and his favourites was necessary to obtain praise and reward for conscientious and useful work. The result is that all these things became a part of the moral philosophy and teachings of Bacon's essays. The *Essays* became a handbook of practical wisdom. But unfortunately the wisdom was the wisdom of his time and of his age. It could not become the best and the highest wisdom of all times. Thus as a moralist Bacon cannot be classed with the highest moral teachers of the world. But this does not permit us to call him the 'meanest' of mankind. It would be a very rash judgment. In himself he was a noble

soul. His only weakness was that he could not rise above the temptations of his age and surroundings. A man who could say about his punishment that the judgment passed on him was "the justest sentence in Parliament that was these two hundred years" was decidedly not the 'meanest'. His only fault was that he was corrupted by the influences, surroundings and low private morality of his time. Therefore, it is in the fitness of things that in judging Bacon as a moralist we should not be very harsh. He had definitely some great and noble qualities and that much should always be said of him while pronouncing judgment on him as a moralist.

Chapter VIII

BACON'S CHARACTER

The Meanest of Mankind: From his own times till to this day Bacon continues to be a controversial character. He was accused and prosecuted when he was in the service of James the first. He had his admirers too. But on the whole he had his enemies who bitterly criticised him. All those who can after Bacon took up either of the two positions. But among the posterity also he has a greater number of people who strongly condemn him than admirers who praise him. Pope, the famous 18th century poet, set the line of attack by saying in a famous epigram that Bacon was "the wisest, brightest and the meanest of mankind." Since than authority after authority has given support to this view. Lytton Strachey speaking in the same fashion compared Bacon to a snake. It was a different way of calling Bacon the meanest of all creatures. Another famous person Hallam thought that he was "a man who, being entrusted with the highest gifts of Heaven, habitually abused them for the poorest purposes of earth-hired them out for guineas, places, and titles in the service of injustice, covetousness, and oppression." Thus the impression that Bacon stood for meanness, injustice, greed, selfishness, opportunism, has become stronger in the popular imagination as well. To an average student of Bacon, he appears to be a man of Satan's party. Even many of Bacon's biographers find it difficult to free him from the sins which are generally laid to his door. Lang, in his *History of English Literature* says, "The industry of his biographer Mr. Spedding has not wholly redeemed the character of Bacon......" In his openion Bacon's personality could not become dear to mankind; it was not on the level with his genius. Even those who consider Bacon's achievements sympathetically in the field of scholarship find it difficult to defend his character. Hudson felt that Bacon sacrificed his character for the sake of wealth and power and

for the satisfaction of his high political ambition. His morals were of "the narrowest expediency and utilitarianism." A careful study of all these opinions leads to the following points :—

1. That he was gifted with the highest gifts of Heaven; that he was a man of wide learning and deep scholarship; that in this respect he was decidedly the brightest and wisest of mankind.

Along with this opinion the second conclusion that we make from the above observations is :

2. That he was morally a depraved person; that he sacrificed the best principles of life to gain material advantages; that even friends did not matter when his self interest was at stake; therefore he was the meanest of mankind.

These are the two different angles from which Bacon's character has been studied so far, and the opinion has been in almost all cases in favour of Bacon as regards No. 1 aspect of his character and always against him as regards No. 2 aspect of his character. In recent times there has been some softening of attitude as regards No. 2 aspect of his character. A large number of critics have suggested that Bacon in himself was perhaps not a mean person. He was corrupted by the times in which he lived. He was surrounded by a very selfish court, by a self-seeking and ambitious politicians, and as a result Bacon too had to practise the arts of cunning and treachery. We will consider this point later on in the essay in greater details. Here it should also be noted that judgment on Bacon's character is passed on the basis of two types of evidence : (1) external evidence and (2) internal evidence. External evidence means the information and details gathered from the personal and public life of Bacon. Internal evidence means his personality and ideas as revealed in his writings, particularly in his moral and philosophical writings where he deals with the questions of morality or immortality in life. Internal evidence on his character is mainly derived from his *Essays* and on that basis he is declared to be an opportunist. We will study these in detail.

External Evidence : If we judge Bacon's character from external evidence, that is, from the details and information which we possess about it, his private and public life, we come to a very unhappy conclusion. The evidence is so much against him that we feel that he was really a very mean and selfish person who considered his own good to be the aim of life. Let us first of all take up Bacon's relationship with Essex. Bacon's relationship with Essex started with a selfish motive. Bacon wanted advancement in life and he first of all tried to gain the favour of Lord Burghley, the Lord Treasurer to Queen Elizabeth. But Lord Burghley did not care much for him. Therefore, Bacon detached himself from Burghley and strongly supported the policy of Lord Essex, one of the Queen's favourite. From Essex, Bacon received the gift of an Estate at Twickenham. His friendship with Essex continued till the unfortunate day when Essex met with misfortune in life. He had been sent to Ireland to control the rebellion there. He failed in the task and came back to England in 1599 with failure written large on his face. At this point we must remember that Essex went to Ireland at Bacon's insistence. Any how when Essex was put to trail for his failure in Ireland, Bacon acted as an assistant to the prosecuting Counsels. Essex was found guilty of maladministration and was executed. It is said that Bacon took a very leading part in his execution and hit his friend below the belt.

After Essex, it is said Bacon behaved in the same mean manner with another friend Earl of Somerset. In his desire to rise to greater power, this time the Earl of Somerset was to be his victim. In 1616 Bacon prosecuted the Earl of Somerset for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. The prosecution took place under very dubious circumstances. Many more examples are cited from the life of Bacon to show that he was a highly selfish, crafty, mean person who had no hesitation to sacrifice even the best of his friends to gain advantages in life. His famous biographer Spedding has tried to prove that most of these charges made against Bacon are baseless. He tried to show that Bocon was a public servant with a high sense of duty who would not care for friendship or allow other consideration to stand in the way of justice. But this view has not been accepted by

many other biographers of Bacon. A majority of them continue to believe that Bacon was guilty of moral turpitude in these cases.

The result is that from his external evidence the opinion gets almost confirmed that Bacon was a man interested in material success in life. He was both too great and too little to succeed in life. "He had a great brain; not a great soul."

In defence of Bacon we can submit at this stage that Bacon's character should not be judged very harshly because we should all the time remember that he was born at a time when private morality was of a very low order. Even in our own times people continue to pass as big moral persons in public life and they remain very mean in private life. The temptations of his age were many. The friendship of the great was a special qualification to rise in life. It was an age in which all statesmen lived dangerously and did not care much for the prison. Plots and counterplots were made every day to get a promotion. Bacon found himself surrounded by these circumstances. He had favourites to please and many rivals to outwit before he could become a great man. Honest independence was not wanted; ready obedience and servility were in great demand. Conscientious, hard and useful work was not so important as the pleasure of the king. The result was that Bacon became a victim of all these petty things. In the words of F. G. Selby, "profoundly religious at heart, and filled with high principles of morality, he had yet to adapt himself to the conditions of a selfish and intriguing world, and to study and practice the arts by which material success in life was to be won." In his own opinion he always felt like a stranger in the world in which he lived. His own words explain the situation very well; "My soul hath been a stranger in the course of my pilgrimage." In his defence Bacon said that his defects were the 'faults of the time' (*vitia temporis*) and not the 'faults of the man' (*vitia hominis*.) As regards the charge that Bacon accepted gifts and bribes, it has been pointed out by very competent authorities that it was a normal feature of social morality in the age of Elizabeth. When Bacon was punished on that charge he was simply

made a scapegoat. Many others were guilty of it but they escaped prosecution and thus remained moral.

Internal Evidence : When we study Bacon's work the impression that we get of his character is different from what we get from external evidence. In his serious scientific and philosophical works he appears to be a man of very remarkable intellectual gifts. In his essays no doubt his character does not shine out. The morality of the *Essays* is the morality of a man too much interested in wordly life and success. So much so that even such noble and sublime qualities as love, friendship, married life, truth, etc., appear to him ordinary qualities. Wife and children in his opinion are 'hostages to fortune' ; they are "impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief." He does recognise that wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity but he never admits that they are capable of much greater influence in human life. He feels that unmarried men are the best friends, best masters, and best servants. Bacon underrates the emotional element of all these things in life. Love in his opinion is the child of folly. He finds it much suited to the stage than to the life of man where love only creates mischief. He could not be moved by religion. He thinks that religion is 'the chief hand of human society' and tries to determine how it may be made most useful in that capacity. In his essay on death he only talks of death as it occurs in this worl d. He has no idea of the hopes and fears of a second life. In his Essay *Of Friendship* he points out that he has great consideration for friendship. But friendship for him is not a very high ideal ; it is mainly valued by him because it may bring him certain advantages. It may give comfort to emotions, and aid in the affairs of life. He all the time talks of what a man receive from his friend. He never points out that one can also give something to one's friend. The high qualities of giving do not find any place in the essay ; Bacon is always concerned with the question of receiving. Thus his essays, as Hugh Walker points out, appear to be the work of an opportunist. Once again the character of Bacon appears in a bad light.

But the moment we move away from his *Essays* and

study his philosophical works the picture changes. Bacon in his *Advancement of Learning* and *De Augmentis* and *Novum Organum* is a very different man. He is neither mean nor an opportunist. He is not occupied with the question of material success in life. Here is only concern is the pursuit of knowledge. And he does follow knowledge with the highest aims and the greatest sincerity. Here his character appears in the brightest light. His achievement is something of which he could be proud. In the opinion of a number of critics his contribution to science and human knowledge is of everlasting importance. In the opinion of Bush, "He not only summoned men to research, he brought the Cendrella of Science out of her partial obscurity and enthroned her as the queen of the world. No one any longer could be deaf to the scientific and humanitarian gospel of experiment, invention, utility, and progress."

A Complex Character : From the above discussion we find that Bacon's character was a curious combination of the high and the low, the great and the mean. He was a selfish man of the world and a selfless devotee of knowledge. The result is, to most of his students and biographers he seems to be a complex character. In the opinion of Long, "In Bacon we see one of those complex and contradictory natures which are the despair of the biographers. If the writer be an admirer of Bacon, he finds too much that he must excuse or pass over in silence ; and if he takes his stand on the law to condemn the avarice and dishonesty of his subject, he finds enough moral courage and nobility to make him question on the justice of his own judgement." When we look at the facts of Bacon's life, we find on the one side the politician, cold, calculating, selfish, and on the other the literary and scientific man with an impressive devotion to truth for its own great sake. In the first case he is a man using questionable means to advance his own interests. In the second case he is a man seeking with zeal and endless labour to penetrate the secret ways of Nature, with no other object than to advance the interest of his fellowmen. The combination of these curious qualities in one man has led to a great degree of misjudgement of Bacon's character. Long is so much baffled by his charac-

ter that he declares, "Bacon was apparently one of those double natures that only God is competent to judge, because of the strange mixture of intellectual strength and moral weakness that is in them."

A Stranger In The Course Of His Pilgrimage: The character of Bacon does appear complex. But if we study it against the background of the age in which Bacon lived, this complexity of his character disappears. We should remember that Bacon the man was the product of the Renaissance. Man's glory, his opportunity of mind and body, his joy in learning, discovery, weighing, creating—all this existed in Bacon's mind and excited him. In Shakespeare Hamlet cries, "What a piece of work is man!" The same was the feeling of Bacon; he had the same excited interest in man; he wanted to study the world around him and not the Heavens above. He was concerned with man and the things man had made. In spite of his love of books and studies, it was the living man that was the centre of his thought. And therefore quite often he appears to be a man of this world totally unconcerned with religion and the divine. He should not be called a materialistic in a contemptuous way. He was, no doubt, interested in the world and men but it was chiefly the interest of a person inspired by the Renaissance. As regards his personal life, we have of course to admit that he did suffer from great ambition, the last infirmity of a great man's mind.

As regards the charge of cunning and selfishness and moral weakness, it may be worthy to keep certain things in mind. It will not help us to take a harsh view of his character. Putting him against the background of his age we should remember that the temptations of his age were many and different. The friendship of the great was a necessary qualification to rise in life. The abandonment of an old friend in time of danger was not so repulsive to his age in which fortune and virtue were recognised as the only important principles in public life. It was an age in which prosecution, imprisonment and treachery were familiar incidents in the life of the Court. Therefore if Bacon committed certain moral faults, they were not so much the faults in the eyes of his contemporaries. They are

faults of the age and Bacon's only weakness was that he could not rise above them.

He was indeed not a complex character but in a very large degree a simple and ambitious person. He wanted to be great, to rise to the heights of social and political power, but he found the world around him so very cruel and clever that he had to adopt its ways. His favourite quotation explains his character very well :

"My soul bath been a stranger in the course of my pilgrimage."

Indeed he was a stranger among those with whom he had to contend for power and glory. The only language that the persons around him understood was the language of cunning and treachery. Not a scholar but favourites had the chance to get the best in life. Honest judgment, scholarship, independence were not so much valued as flattery, show, sham and servility. Bacon became a victim to all these things. In the words of Selby, "Destined by inclination and capacity to be a student, he found himself engrossed with the cares and occupations of public life. Animated by a high ideal of government and law, he had to stoop to be the instrument of the petty policy, the mean conceptions, and the narrow jealousies of James. Profoundly religious at heart, and filled with high principles of morality, he had yet to adapt himself to the conditions of a selfish and intriguing world, not to study and practise the arts by which material success in life was to be won." By this estimate it is not meant to free Bacon from his faults. It is an estimate to campel the reader to consider Bacon sympathetically rather than harshly.

Summing up : Pope summed up Bacons' character in the oft-quoted words : "the wisest, brightest and the meanest of mankind." He was a man who, being entrusted with the highest gifts of heaven, habitually abused them. Internal evidence on his character is mainly derived from his *Essays* and on that basis he is declared to be an opportunist. Further evidence is gathered from external sources. The evidence is so much against him that we feel that he was really a very mean and selfish person. However, in

defence of Bacon it may be submitted that his character should not be judged very harshly because he was born at a time when private morality was of a very low order. The truth is that his is a very complex character. He was a selfish man of the world on the one hand, and a selfless devotee of knowledge on the other. In him we see one of those complex and contradictory natures which are the despair of the biographers. He was a very ambitious person. He wanted to be great to rise to the heights of social and political power, but he found the world around him so cruel and clever that he had to stem against it. His approach to the world may he explained through the following quotation, of which he is said to have been exceedingly fond:

"My soul hath been a stranger in the course of my pilgrimage."

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CHAPTER IX

BACON AS A SCHOLAR

His Passion for Knowledge : As a scholar Bacon stands in the front rank of scholars in the world. He was very conscious of what he had to do in the field of scholarship. So in very bold words he announced :

"Lastly I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends, as I have moderate civil ends ; for I have taken all knowledge to be my province ;......I hope I should bring in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries ; best state of that province."

These were no empty words. He showed it by his massive writing that he had really "taken all knowledge" to be his province. He believed himself born for the service of mankind, and sincerely desired to devoted his wonderful powers to the advancement of that knowledge which would lead to the glory of the Creator and relief of man's estate. His knowledge was indeed very wide and ever ready to his hand for purposes of deep penetration into problems which affected human welfare and happiness. His passion for knowledge continued till the end of his life even when he was completely broken in health and spirit. It is a great tribute to his passion for knowledge that he died while stuffing a fowl to carry on an experiment. He was a devoted scholar who died in harness. Perhaps he might have achieved still bigger things in the field of knowledge had not so much of his life been spent on fruitless solicitations and intrigue. At the end of his career when he had to turn away from the court and carry on a life of complete retirement he devoted himself to scholarship. Matheson points out, "with remarkable elasticity and hopefulness he contrived to live on, husbanding his ruined fortunes and pursuing his studies to which he had hope, until his fowl

came, to give the support and prestige of his great position. The literary output of these years shows what he might have achieved had not so much of his life been spent on fruitless solicitations and intrigue."

A Bell Ringer : Bacon was almost the first man in certain fields of scholarships in England. He himself too knew it. He knew that in certain field of scholarship he would be the first man to wake up the sleeping humanity. Therefore he called himself a bell-ringer who was to wake up all those who were still asleep. In his own words he was :

"A bell ringer who is up first to call others to church."

This was not a wrong claim. In his *Advancement of Learning*, he is one of the earliest to try to consolidate and unify knowledge. In his *Essays* he is the pioneer of clear, logical, sententious English. He was, besides being the father of English prose style, the father of English Essay. The French philosopher and writer Montaigne was the bell-ringer in this respect in France. But Bacon was the bell-ringer in English. Again, in his *History of the Reign of King Henry VII* he shows the possibility of a flowing, orderly, and powerful narrative that shall compel attention without using high flown language. In his *New Atlantis* he started a movement which we can say, let to the foundation of Royal Society in England. He may not be regarded as a serious and great philosophical thinker. But even in the field of philosophy he was the bell-ringer to thought. Perhaps it may be admitted that he did not produce any profound reasoning yet he gave direction to the minds of others. As an orator he stands unrivalled. He saw the value of scientific exactness and precision. He very well understood the value of careful collection of facts and when he spoke he carried the point. Here we have the testimony of Ben Jonson who says of Bacon's eloquence as follows : "No man ever spoke more neatly, more weightily or suffered less emptiness, less idleness in what he uttered. No member in his speech but consisted of its own graces. His hearers could not cough or look aside without loss. He commanded where he spoke ; and had his judges angry and pleased at its discretion......The fear of every man that heard him was

that he should make an end." On the whole it may be said that he was a very powerful and valuable "intellectual irritant" who caused irritation in the minds of others who learn more and more. He may not have been a constructive force, a very original thinker but he possessed great powers to challenge and arrest the attention of others. Macaulay was right when he said that it was Bacon's destiny "to give to the human mind a direction which itself retain for age." Indeed it was a rare prerogative allowed to a very few great man.

Four main fields of study : Bacon applied the powers of his mind mainly to four fields of human study. These four fields included Law, History, Political and Moral Problems and Philosophy. Naturally his works may fall into four fields : (1) Legal Works ; (2) Historical Works ; (3) Political and Moral Works and (4) Philosophical Works. So we will study Bacon as a Lawyer, as a Historian as a Political and Moral Thinker, and as a Scientific and Philosophical Writer. Let us first of all take up Bacon as a Lawyer. As a lawyer Bacon's achievement was not ordinary. As Lord Chancellor of England he had to de l with justice. He was prosecuted later on for accepting bribes but nobody ever questioned his ability as a lawyer. In the opinion of Matheson, "Lawyers are agreed in placing him among the series of Chancellors." We will not discuss his legal works in any detail here because they are of interest and value to the historian of English Law, and not to the general reader. But it may be recorded that as a Lawyer he possessed a remarkable power. " He commanded where he spoke ; and had his judges angry and pleased at his direction. No man had their affections more in his power. The fear of every man that heard him was that he should make an end". This judgment of his legal ability is given by no less a person than Ben Jonson.

As a Historian : As a writer of historical works Bacon is not much known to his readers. They generally associate his name with the famous essays and some of his philosophical works. But he also wrote a remarkable book of history entitled, *History of the Reign of Henry VII.* (1622). It is the only complete historical work that we

received from him. But the work, as Theodore Redpath points out, "probably deserves to be read more than it is, by English readers at least. Even to a modern reader it is very understandable. Bacon wrote it with a very clear understanding and powerful insight into the trends and events of the time of Henry the VII. He very easily understood the affairs of stage. As a lawyer he was naturally capable of understanding the implications of individual acts and orders. The book is really outstanding because of its clear presentation of the political affairs of the time. Bacon does fail in one particular respect. He is not able to present the social historv of the time very successfully and correctly. The book on the whole is very readable and makes a dry subject like history a living one. To quote Redpath once again, "It presents living figures in a living scene. Its highly discerning portrait of Henry VII affords a remarkable contrast with the laudatory or insipid sketches of the early histories. The writing, is always to the point, and the narrative is animated by many touches of shrewd wit." Besides this History two Political fragments also deserve mention. The first is *An Advertisement Touching An Holy War* which gives us a dialogue on the question whether war was lawful for the propagation of the faith or not. The second is *Of the True Greatness of the Kingdom of Britain which Recommends better Treatments of the spots for a complete union of the Kingdoms.*

As A Scientific Thinke : As a scientific thinker we are not to look to him for any particular discoveries. In fact he did not know very well the many problems connected with scientific enquiry in his own time. In some cases he rejected the truth, and followed old fashioned and wrong beliefs. But his influence as a scientific thinker cannot be denied and at the same time underrated. The influence exercised by him was naturally of a kind which we should expect from a thinker who had taken the whole field of knowledge as his province. F. G. Selby points out, "Inquirers were naturally gratified by the dignity which he gave to their labours, and encouraged by the prospects which he held out. He gave to science a human interest. He gave it high hopes and a definite aim." Very often the critics of Bacon try to be little his importance by saying that he

made no scientific discovery and his method of inquiry could never become the method of the great scientists later on. This argument does not hold much water. The scientific discovery in itself is not so important as the faith that Science is an important field of human activity which could open up the secrets of Nature. Bush is very correct when he says, "Bocon is not historically negligible as a scientific thinker. His scientific deficiency does not essentially weaken the force of his message for his time......" Indeed, it was Bacon who substituted the humble and critical interrogation of Nature for the arbitrary concept of traditional authority. It was a very big achievement indeed for a great lawyer; judge and statesman. To quote Bush once again, "he not only summoned men to research, he brought the Cinderella of Science out of her partial obscurity and enthorned her as the queen of the world. No one any longer could be deaf to the scientific and humanitarian gospel of experiment, invention, utility, and progress". Thus Bacon made no scientific discovery as Newton and Harvey made. But he laid the solid foundation of Science because he was the first man to point out the importance of experiment in the study of knowledge. He was the first man who laughed at the idea of authority based on the so-called scientific observation. Once arbitrary authority has been replaced by critical enquiry and experiment, Science in its true sense had taken birth. Bacon's contribution in this respect remains unique and outstanding.

As A Political And Moral Thinker : His most important moral work is the *Essays* on counsels civil and moral. These were published in three editions during Bacon's life time. The first edition appears in 1597 containing ten essays. The third edition appears in 1625 in which the number of essays went up to 58. The moral tone of these essays is at times questionable. Quite often Bacon appears to be an opportunist. In his morals he is absolutely of this world. There are places where there is shallow worldliness which is highly disturbing and does no credit to this great man. For example even such a noble and powerful sentiment as love appears to him *"to be a child of folly."* Sometimes, even some of his conclusions are ordinary and common place. They do

not show a very sharp mind behind them. But these essays are extremely widely read because of their worldly practical wisdom. They "come home to men's business and bosoms". He is not preaching things of the spirit and the soul ; his only concern is to show to men how to succeed in this life and world. "Human Nature And How To Manage It" would be a good title for these *Essays*. As the French critic, Legouis points out, "It is the art of success among men which is the subject of his *Essays*. He points man to the part he should play on the stage of social life, as is indicated in the sub-title of his Book : *Counsels Civil And Morals*. As morals of this world, his sayings have great force and weight. Many of them have become proverbs. Besides these essays there is a collection of ancient and modern sayings which Bacon did during the autumn of 1624 entitled *Apophthegms New and Old*. He dictated from memory and they were published in 1625. There are about 300 of them, and some are very striking and some are dull. He also brought out a collection of arguments on moral matters with answers to them. It was entitled *Of the Clours of Good and Evil*.

As A Philosophical Thinker : To the students of Literature Bacon will remain a great name and force because of his *Essays*. But the legal, historical and even the moral works, do not sum up his most valuable achievement in scholarship. His greatest contribution to the advancement of learning was made possible by his philosophical works. As a philosophical thinker he was inspired by two purposes : (1) He wanted to increase the bounds of human knowledge and ; (2) he wanted to make man powerful over Nature. In order to do this he had to survey the whole field of human knowledge and fight against many malpractices which had come into existence in the study of Science and Nature. In order to achieve his objects he formulated a grand scheme of philosophical studies which he called *Instauration Magna*. This scheme was highly ambitious and had six important parts. We give below the six parts of the scheme and the general outline of the things that he had to study under each part.

I. A classification and review of the state of the sciences.

II. A new inductive method.

III. A natural and experimental history, on the basis of which inductions could be made.

IV. Examples of discoveries and inventions achieved by the new methods, set out in tables.

V. A temporary list of discoveries and inventions made in the course of scientific inquiry, but not according to the new method (the contents of this list to be tested eventually by proper scientific method.)

VI. A scientific synthesis of the inductive conclusions.

The general outline of this plan is clear enough, and the plan is nobly conceived and, explained in terms which are at times even deeply moving. Nevertheless, though Bacon worked hard, perhaps too hard, during the last few years of his life, to carry through his plan to the greatest possible extent, the result is highly fragmentary .

Part I is represented by the *De Augmentis Scientiarum* (published 1623.)

Part II is represented by the *Novum Organum*, which is digested into aphorisms, and unfinished.

Part III is represented by (a) an introduction to natural and experimental history, the *Parasceve and historiam naturalem et experimentalem*, and a catalogue of particular histories, the *Catalogus historiarum particularium*, published in 1620 ;

(b) Some half-dozen histories, only about half of which were completed by Bacon, in perticular the *Historia Ventorum* (*History of the Winds*) (published 1622), and the *Historia vitae et mortis* (*History of Life and Death*) (published 1623) ; and

(c) Some miscellaneous works, including the *Sylva Sylvarum* (The Forest of Forests) (the last of Bacon's works, published by Rawlev 1627.)

Parts IV and V are only represented by Prefaces, whose date of composition is uncertain.

Part VI is not represented by an extant work.

This plan unfortunately could not be completed. *The De Augmentis* gives us a survey of knowledge existing in Bacon's time and of what Bacon thought to be the gaps in it. The survey is a remarkable one, within its limits. There are no doubt, some important omissions but it was on the whole a wonderful achievement. Bacon was a busy man and naturally he could not know some important knowledge available in his time. For example he does not mention in his survey the astronomical discovery of Kepler. Many more omissions may be cited. But in spite of them Bacon's achievement was tremendous though Bacon himself in perfect humility did not regard the *De Augmentis* as a perfect fulfilment of Part I of his Plan. After pointing out gaps in human knowledge, his next job was to point out how the gaps could be filled. In this connection he suggests that ignorance and error have been due to various human weakness. These weaknesses could be removed by a proper scientific method. He called these human weaknesses as Idols. These Idols were of four kinds ; Idols of the Trive; Idols of the Cave, Idols of the Market Place, and Idols of the Theatre. Idols of the Trive lead to errors like narrow-mindedness, interference by emotion and desire, limitations of the senses, and a tendency to believe in the reality of near abstractions. The Idols of the Trive, he pointed out, were common to all humanity. Idols of the Cave lead to errors peculiar to individuals from birth or through training, habit or accident. To illustrate this point he mentions the tendency of scientists and the philosophers to construct complete system according to their favourite subjects. Idols of the Maiket Place, Bacon thought, were the sources of errors lying in language. In his opinion Idols of the Market Place were the most troublesome. He divided these Idols into two kinds, one kind arising from names of things which do not exist, and the other from names attached to abstractions wrongly made. For example the word 'humid' is generally vaguely taken up though it has a number of entirely different senses. Idols of the Theatre arise from

false principles of philosophy and wrong rules of demonstration.

As a Philosophical Thinker Bacon has made a definite contribution to the advancement of learning. There has been some controversy as to which part of Bacon's philosophy made the greatest contribution. In their famous edition of Bacon's works Spedding and Ellis were divided in their opinion. Spedding felt that Bacon's classification and review of the sciences, his plan for a total natural history and philosophy, were of the greatest importance. Ellis, on the other hand, felt that the new inductive method advocated by Bacon was his greatest contribution to the advancement of learning. There are a number of critics who feel that neither his scientific method nor his inductive method made any contribution. They argue that science has not developed along the lines which Bacon recommended. These critics have even shown it that Bacon's inductive method was quite unfitted for the solution of even the fundamental problems of science. Perhaps these critics are correct to a certain extent. But this does not undermine the importance of Bacon's and his contributions to the advancement of learning. As Theodore Redpath points out, "Nevertheless the general principles of Baconion induction, and some of its details did have their influence on natural science, and on English mental, morals, and political philosophy......Further more, Bacon's account for induction was, in any case, an outstanding contribution to the logic of scientific method ....But certainly one of Bacon's greatest contribution to the advancement of learning lay in his clear and eloquent expression of a philosophy of controlled empiricism, of the view that the future of science lay in systematic observation and controlled experiment.

Summing up : To sum up, we can say that as a scholar Bacon is one of the brightest and wisest of mankind. He is a bell-ringer who brought humanity out of its slumber. He gave direction to human mind and knowledge. The tribute paid to him by the famous French writer and philosopher Voltair sums up very clearly the position that Bacon occupies in the field of knowledge and scholarship : "The Chancellor Bacon did not yet know nature, but he knew

all the roads that led to hér." It is his very wise estimate. Bacon had not discovered the secrets of Nature. He had not opened up all the secrets of knowledge and scholarship. And yet he knew better than all the contemporaries of his time the way that would unlock the vast treasure of knowledge. Destined by inclination and capacity to be a student, he found himself occupied with the cares and intrigues of public life. Animated by a high ideal of government and law, he had to stoop to the instrument of the petty policy, the mean conceptions, and the narrow jealousies of James. It was a misfortune of this scholar that in spite of being devoted to the best ideals of scholarship he had to adapt himself to the condition of a selfish and mean world. And yet his achievements as a scholar cannot be underrated.

CHAPTER X

RENAISSANCE SPIRIT IN BACON

Age of the Renaissance : The term Renaissance means a re-birth. It does not imply previous death but it means the intellectual movement that was the result of the re-awakening of scholarship, the recovery of the ancient learning, the rise of the spirit of religious and scientific enquiry. All these things led to the liberation of the individual from the slavery of institutions, ideas, and ways of thinking that belonged to the Middle Ages. Feudalism disappeared gradually ; Scholasticism began to die out ; the influence of the Church in secular matters became less and less. The result was that there was a movement from Medieval to modern methods of study and thought. So the term Renaissance has a wider meaning. Narrowly speaking 'Renaissance' is applied to the revival of Art and classical learning as a result of the re-discovery and imitation of classical models. The interest in classical literature, because of the Renaissance, has been given a separate name—Humanism. Humanism strictly applies to the revival of interest in the classic literature of Greece and Rome. It put emphasis upon the worldliness of this life, and not upon the other—worldliness. It wanted to recapture an appreciation of classical antiquity by using human studies. It revolted against Medieval mysticism and against the bondage of intellectual and ecclesiastical authority. The result was that it liberated and freed the human personality. So the term 'Renaissance' is to be broadly interpreted. In brief we can say that the main features of the Renaissance as they found expression in English literature were the following :—

1. The Renaissance spirit marked a break from the Middle Ages. The Middle Ages stood for a system of hierarchy and rigid order in human life ; it upheld the

system of feudalism ; it emphasised to subordination of this life to the life of the other world ; it sanctioned the authority of the Church over everything else. The spirit of the Renaissance gave a death blow to all these things.

2. The Renaissance with its interest in humane studies created an intense interest in this world and in man as an individual. The Medieval Church had taught a contempt of this world. Life in this world was merely a preparation for life to come. With the Renaissance human life in this world acquired suddenly a new glory and value. There was a surprising discovery by man of himself and of the world around. This change in attitude towards human life and this world finds its expression in the entire literature of the Elizabethan Age. Bacon also expresses this spirit.

3. The Renaissance brought with it new eyes, new learning, new powers of comprehension. The boundaries of human knowledge and human experience were widened. The spirit of man began to leap forward to possess and explore these new territories of knowledge and experience. There was a spirit of challenge and enquiry. Bacon, like many other Elizabethan writers, shows this spirit of challenge and enquiry in his writings.

4. The Renaissance advocated a life of action as against the life of contemplation recommended by the Middle Ages. Naturally the Renaissance ideal of the Courtier underwent a change. In the Middle Ages Courtiers were serious and dignified scholars, men preoccupied with morality and good citizenship. Now they were the men of fashion, eager to learn and copy the new manners of a society whose moral teacher was Machiavelli.

All these features of the Renaissance spirit find their expression in Elizabethan literature as a whole, and in Bacon too. As Mair points out, the spirit of the Renaissance, "runs right through the literature of the Elizabethan Age and after it, affecting, each in their special way, all, the dramatists, the authors who were also adventurers like Raleigh, scholars like Milton, and the philosophers like Hobbes and Locke." Bacon was imbued with this spirit and was a true child of the Renaissance.

His Passion for Learning: The most notable feature of the Renaissance was to explore new territories of knowledge and experience. Travellers and voyagers were discovering new lands ; scholars and humanists were discovering new ideas. The influence of the spirit of discovery and adventure was common in all walks of Elizabethan life. The voyagers themselves wrote down the stories of their adventures. The collections of Hakluyt and Purchas of these adventures were among the most popular books of Age. The Elizabethan drama caught this spirit of adventure from the voyagers and expressed it fully in their plays. The characters of Marlowe are occupied with the lust of adventure, and the wealth and power adventure brings. The same spirit of adventure in the field of knowledge is exhibited by Bacon in his passion for knowledge. Marlowe's Tamburlaine thought :

Our souls, whose faculties can comprehend,
The wondrous Architecture of the world,
And measure every wand'ring planet's course,
Still climbing after knowledge infinite,
And always moving as the restless Spheres,
Wills us to wear ourselves and never rest...

So the desire was to run 'after knowledge infinite.' Bacon expresses the same desire in the following words :

"Lastly I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends, as I have moderate civil ends ; for I have taken all knowledge to be my province. I hope I should bring in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries ; best state af that province."

These lines more than any other embody the true spirit of the Renaissance. Bacon, inspired by the Renaissance spirit, undertook the survey of the whole field of human knowledge and gave a new direction and life to the study of science. It may however be noted that Bacon was not all alone in this passion for scholarship. During this very period man like Gilbert worked on magnetism and William Harvey on the circulation of the blood. But the

great achievement of Francis Bacon was to extricate Science from its philosophical entanglements and to give it a method and a new lease of hope. As L. G. Salingar puts it, " *The Advancement of Learning* was a clearing of ground, a magnificent survey of the whole range of Renaissance scholarship, from divinity to Natural history......" All this search for knowledge was made possible because the Renaissance created a confidence in man, in the capabilities of pure intellect. So there were medical men, navigators, land-surveyers, mining engineers, and a number of others who explored the fields of knowledge and scholarship. Bacon was one of them, but by far the most outstanding. When he writes his essay on studies, he is inspired by the same spirit. In his opinion studies not only serve for delight and for ornament but also for ability. It was his Renaissance faith that made him write :

> "Reading maketh a full man : conference a ready man ; and writing an exact man."

Interest in Man and the Life of this World : The Renaissance spirit sharply differed from the spirit of the middle ages in its conception of this world. The Middle Ages all the time occupied themselves with the other world. For the scholars of the Middle Ages, and the people at large, life in this world was merely a preparation for eternity. The doctrine of the Middle Ages regarding this world was based on 'contempt of the world.'

The following lines express it very well :

> "What is it to trust on mutability,
> Sith that in this world nothing may endure ?"

So nothing was considered of importance in this world. As regards man's life fortune rather than individual life itself was more important. But with the Renaissance all this began to change. The people would no longer condemn the world. In stead of renouncing the world the soul struggles for worldly virtue. In place of the priest comes the civil magistrate. Man was instructed to get fame, public glory, to be an ideal courtier devoted to a life to statecraft and poetry, to love and war. These humanist ideal come from the classics and from Italy.

They were expressed in Aschams' *School Master* (1570) and North's *Translation of Plutarch, Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans* (1579). Bacon took up this interest in man and the world around him with all the zeal. He expresses it in his writings. He believed himself, "Born for the service of mankind." He sincerely desired to devote his wonderful powers to the advancement of that knowledge which would lead to "the glory of the Creator and relief of man's estate." He took special delight in man's glory and was confident of the opportunities of mind and body. He enjoyed the magnificence of the world. He showed joy in learning, discovering, weighing, creating all for the sake of men and for this world. Hamlet cried 'what a piece of work is man.' Bacon showed the same delight in man and things that concerned him. To quote Tillotson "Bacon was concerned with man and the things man had made. The human mind convoluted as variously as the human body ...much as Bacon was devoted to books and studies. It was a living man that fascinated him most presistently." This is the reason why he expresses so much concern for human life in his essays. Throughout the *Essays* he is concerned with the conduct and values of life in this world. The other worldliness does not hold any charm for him. This point has been repeatedly stressed by many critics. Bacon himself was very conscious of it. He concerned himself for the most part with the conduct of life in private and public affairs, an thus with things which 'come home to man's business and bosoms.' Within those limited pages of his essays he points out that there is ripest wisdom of experience. Hudson suggests, "we must never forget that the wisdom which they include on the whole is distinctly of worldly kind."

Desire To Master Nature : One of the most powerful ideas of the Renaissance was to replace the older conceptions of the Creation by a new one in which action and not slavery to authority was prominent. In the traditional view the Creation consisted of numberless but linked 'degrees of being', from the four physical element upto the pure intelligence of angels. The whole universe was governed by Divine Will. Nature was God's instrument, there-

fore the Medieval conception was to obey Nature. The social hierarchy was also a product of Nature. Therefore it was argued that subordination and unity were the Natural rules for family and corporations. The State was concerned with men's souls as much as their goods. The whole order was founded on Nature and man was an integral part of this order. His godlike qualities had been depraved by the Fall, and he was constantly visited by divine wrath in the form of wars, plagues, and even thunder storms, yet he could enjoy a civilized happiness provided that he treated this world as preparation for the next, and kept his body subject to his soul. This was the main task of human life made clear by the law of Nature. The need to maintain a regulated order was dictated by man's place in the universe. The Renaissance gave new conception to the idea of order by emphasizing the terms 'Civil' and 'Civility'. Ultimately this change of conception about man, about his position in the universe, about order in human life led to the gradual desire to master Nature and not to obey her. The new conditions favoured a pragmatic outlook. Bacon expresses in his writings and in his life he desired to master Nature. He was constantly expressing it, and even at the time of his death he died in the true Renaissance spirit while stuffing a fowl.

Life of Action and Not of Contemplation : The Scholmen of the Middle Ages recommended the life of contemplation. But the Renaissance favoured a pragmatic outlook and the ideal of self development through action. No longer was it necessary to think that this world was a preparation for the next and that one should keep body subject to one's soul. Castiglione's courtier had already made this man of action an important concept of Elizabethan life. From him Elizabethans learnt to admire a graceful versality, a harmony of mind and body, the cultivation of the soul through courtly love. Statesman, merchants, humanists, divines were all united in praise of the life of action as opposed to contemplation. Naturally under these circumstances the ideal of Fortunes had no place. Machiavelli, and Bacon after him, tried to work out techniques for the individual to master Fortunes. Action was

all in all. 'In Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Prince Hamlet praises Horatio for his indifference to Fortunes blows. In *Julius Caesar* the self mastery and lofty public spirit of Brutus is glorified. It was all in the Renaissance spirit. Bacon gives it full expression in his life and writings. The pull of this active and public life influence Elizabethan culture very much. Logic, a subject of study in the Middle Ages, was replaced by rhetoric. In the Universities, and hence in Literature a great importance was given to the public speaking, which now formed the first aim of general education for a gentleman.

Spirit of Enquiry and Adventure: The Renaissance brought with it a spirit of enquiry and adventure. There is nothing nowadays that can give us a parallel to the stirring and exaltation of the imagination which intoxicated the man of the Renaissance. Today we are not so much excited by new discoveries in science and in other fields because we are prepared for them and have been accepting them for a long time. But during the Age of Elizabeth each discovery of the Ranaissance brought in its wake new thrills. It inspired man to enquire and seek after adventure. This Renaissance spirit of enquiry and adventure forms a very important part of Bacon's work. The *Essays* contain profound practical wisdom. But they contain much more than this. The spirit of curious and restless enquiry which animated Bacon finds expression in such essays as *Of Health*, *Of Gardens*, *Of Plantations*, and others of the kind. Therefore it is very appropriate to say as Salingar puts it, "Bacon and Donne, in their different ways, continued the main traditions of Renaissance humanism."

Summing up: To sum up we can say that Bacon was the man of the Renaissance. In the words of Tillotson, "Bacon the man was the product of the Renaissance; man's glory, generous or tense, his opportunities of mind and body, his eye finally rolling across the subtlety and magnificence of the world, his joy in learning, discovering, weighing, creating......all this as it existed in Bacon's mind shifted through into the *Essays*." It was in the true Renaissance spirit that he was a bell-inger in many fields

of human activity. It was in the Renaissance spirit ag[illegible] that he was interested in man and the things man ha[illegible] made. The desire for learning where all knowledge was t[illegible] be his province, was very much a desire of the Renaissanc[illegible] man. It is difficult to conceive of Bacon without th[illegible] Renaissance.

CHAPTER XI

DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH PROSE AND BACON'S PLACE IN IT

Prose Before Chaucer : We will study the development of English prose from the time of Chaucer. Before him there is hardly any prose worth the study. During the Anglo-Saxon period (449-1066) mostly Latin was in use. Books written on English soil in the Latin language are no part of English Literature. They, however, indicate the knowledge and taste of the educated. Books written in Latin could not reach the less instructed people. Sometimes they could learn through the translations done into Anglo-Saxon owing to the efforts or King Alfred. Bede and Alfred may be mentioned as the two outstanding prose writer during the Anglo Saxon period. In an ignorant age Bede wrote quite a lot and continuously about such natural science as was within his reach. He used that popular and fanciful book of Pliny which contained near fairy tales of natural history. He wrote on chronology in relation to history. But he wrote mainly on theology. Most important is his *Church History Of The Race Of Angles* without which we should know little indeed concerning the Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain. It also gives us a detailed account of the events that happened both in Scotland and England. Bede wrote in plain Latin without affectation concerning things worthy to be known and remembered. He gave us a frank and charming picture of the great St. Cuthdert. He had no doubt, to great a love of miracles and exaggerated some which he found in earlier lives of early English sayings. He knew Greek enough to read the Greek New Testament. Besides Bede this period is also known for its *Chronicle*. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* briefly tells us the history of the Country from year to year.

Although much of old English prose consists of trans-

lation from Latin and is clearly influenced by the original Latin books. It is by no means correct to consider the prose of the period as lacking in originality or personal qualities. The homilies of Aelfric and Wulfstan are at the beginning of the true line of development to the prose of the Authorised Version of the *Bible*. The beginning of the historical writings are to be seen in the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle*. In spite of its limited scope as the medium of the Homili and the historical writing a great advance in prose style is readily seen. From the earlier, simple, halting prose of the *Chronicle* and Alfred, it is a fairly good development to write in animated lively prose. From obscure and elliptical presentation of thoughts and loose sentence structure there was a movement towards final touches of rhythm and cadence, and a greater fluency. In the prose of Aelfric and Wulfstan we find an excellent use of aliteration and of rhetorical figures. The personality of the author becomes aparent.

The *Ancrene Riwle* is the most important of the early prose text of this period. Its days is difficult to decide but it was written somewhere in the 12th century. It is generally said that the foundation of English prose style was laid by this book. Critics have time and again showed the connection with the prose of this book and the prose of the authorised version of the Bible. The prose for the main part is strictly practical in purpose. But one could see a definite development in English prose style so much so that the doctrine of the *Continuity of English prose* has been firmly accepted in English literary criticism today.

Prose in the time of Chaucer : From this period of Anglo-Saxon prose we pass on to the times of Chaucer when some beginnings of English prose were made. Even now English men mostly wrote in Latin. For example Richard Rolle and Wyclif were writing more in Latin than in English. English prose was used in writing of Science, as in Chaucer treatise concerning the Astrolabe. It was also used for translation out of Latin, as in Chaucer's translation of Boethius. It was now also being used in sermons, and by Wyclif and his followers for their tracts against the rich, against the Friars, against the endowments of the Church,

and for their translations from the Latin Bible. John Wyclif (born about 1329) was a man of great influence in his day. He was Master of Balliol College, Oxford in 1361. In 1372 Wyclif took the degree of Doctor in Theology. He had already written quite a few Latin books on philosophical subjects. The Bible was the centre of Wyclif's inspiration. There was no authorized translation of the Latin Bible, but many separate books of scriptures were circulating in English. There is much controversy as to whether or not Wyclif translated the Bible. But certainly he made much of it known in English Tracts and Sermons. Words of Latin origin are nearly as common in his style as in that of Chaucer. We can say that he was the major force in Englishing of the Bible. The Sermons have the double merit of the very short, and very plain, with no rhetorical flowers. This very version of the *Bible* became later on the basis of the authors of King James' Authorized Version.

Chaucer is mainly known as a poet but he also wrote some good prose. A particular mention should be made of his scientific treatise *The Astrolabe*. In spite of the difficult astronomical matter of the book, the prose is clear and there is a charm of music in it.

Besides Chaucer and Wyclif, a few other writers handled English prose. The following deserve some notice: Trevisa, Mandeville, Pecock, Capgrave and Lord Berners. Among these writers Mandeville is by far the most well known. We will consider the others only in brief outlines. The English prose of John Trevisa, a Cornish priest educated at Oxford, and a traveller on the Continent, was entirely given to translation from the Latin. Trevifa himself tells us that in his day English boys in Grammar Schools were ceasing to learn French, and there was a public for English books supposed to be educational. Pecock (1395—1460) was an even more interesting writer of English prose. He was born shortly before the date of Chaucer's death and was a Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. He wrote mainly on religious matters. He had a fairly good logical and legal style. John Capgrave, a priest wrote, many scriptural commentaries and a book on Illustrious Henry. He wrote in English a *Chronicle* of England. Lord Berners was born

about the time of Capgrave's death. He mainly did translations from French. He is rhetorical and uses three verbs at a time, a peculiar mannerism. For Example ; "History show, open, maniest, and declare to the reader by example of old antiquity, what we should enquire, desire, and follow, and also what we should eschew, avoid, and utterly fly". This mannerism of using three verbs at a time is tidious but his translations are on the whole admirable.

The most famous and by far the most interesting of these adapters of foreign books is Sir John Mandeville. He wrote the famous book *Voiage and Travaile* or in modern English *Voyage and Travel*. He mostly wrote in French. But the English translation of his book had a great influence.

In conclusion we can say that nothing important was achieved in the development of English prose style. The one very important name of the period is Willam Caxton. He was the first English printer. He did mainly translations from the French. His contribution was not in the field of prose style so much as in the field of printing. He issued a series of books that laid the foundation of English printing. In this respect it is difficult to over-estimate the debt of English Literature to Caxton. As a literary artist he knew his limitations. His style was full of very involved and confuse sentence structures, and he suffered with a tendency to introduce foreign words and phrases. A mention here may be made of John Fisher. He was educated at Cambridge and became the Bishop of Rochester. He wrote much in Latin, but he could write English fairly well. In English he wrote a collection of tracts and sermons and a longer treatise on the Psalms. His prose works though not many in number are of great importance. There are the first of the rhetorical—religious books that for several century were to be an outstanding feature of English prose. In addition, they show a definite advance in the direction of style. They are written in the style of the orator. Every conscious effort is made to find out the appropriate word. Quite often rhetorical figures of speech are used along with a rapid and flowing rhythm. In short, in the style of Fisher we can see the beginning of an ornate style.

It is still in the making, but it is the very style which developed into the hands of manlike Jeremy Taylor. A small example will be useful. In the following examples note the use of such double words as 'painful and laborious', 'rest and ease' and 'desire and love.'

"What life is more painful and laborious of itself than is the life of hunters which, most early in the morning, break their sleep and rise when others do take their rest and ease, and in his labour he may use to plain highways and the soft grass, but he must tread upon the follows, run over the hedges, and creep through the thick bushes, and cry all the long day upon his dogs, and so continue without meat or drink until the very night drive him home ; these labours be unto him pleasant and joyous, for the desire and love that he hath to see the poor hare chased with dogs."

Yet another name that deserves mention is that of Hug Latimer. He of course also wrote mainly in Latin but his English prose works consist of two volumes of sermons published in 1549. He is the first of the writers of plain style. Sir Thomas More is by far the most outstanding name of the time. But his famous book *Utopia* was written in Latin. It was not translated into English until 1551. His English prose works include *The Life of John Picus*. *The Histories of Richard III*, and a number of tracts and letters. He writes ably and clearly, but with no great distinction of mánner. He is the first writer of the middle style.

On the whole we can say that there was no distinct development in English prose style. There was no doubt a growing tendency to use more English than Latin. English was being used for writing all kinds of books on all kinds of subjects. Albert puts it very briefly :

"There were no outstanding achievemenes in prose, but facts all helped to reveal the waning influence of Latin and the increasing importance given to English. English prose appeared in theological works, as in those of Fisher ; and Cranmer (1489-1556) gave it a new field in his notable *English Prayer Book*. Historical prose was represented by *The Chronicle of England* of Capgrave (1393-1464), who wrote in a businesslike fashion ; a species of philosophical

prose appeared in *The Governance of England* of Portescue (c. 1394-c. 1476), and in *The Boke* named the *Governour* of Elyot (c. 1490—c. 1546), a kind of educational work ; *The Castle of Health*, also by the last author, was a medical work. The great race of the Elizabethan translators is well begun by Lord Berners (1467—1533,) who translated *Froissart* with freedom and no mean skill ; ard, lastly, the *English Bible* was taking shape".

Tendencies in English Prose Style of the 15th Century : On the whole we can say that English prose style had begun to emerge and develop. After Chaucer, English poetry declined but English prose kept on making progress. There were a number of small improvements which put together made a definite advance in English prose style. Writers like Fisher and Latimer could use English prose with real skill. There was a greater understanding of the beauties of rhythm and cadence. And in the real sense of the term the prose paragraph had taken shape. All the three cheap styles of prose had been written, of course not with that perfection which the writers in the 17th and 18th centuries showed. But in spite of all shortcomings we could clearly see the three chief prose style—the *ornate*, the *middle*, and the *plain*. The prose writers of this century had to a certain extent laid the foundation of English prose styles which were to become popular in successive centuries. Albert in his famous *History Of English Literature* has summed up these tendencies as follows :

"The development of prose style was marked by a number of small improvement which in the aggregate represented no small advance. Unlike the poetry of the time, prose suffered from no retrogression. There was a preceptible increase in skill, due to increased practice ; there was a growing perception of the beauties of rhythm and cadence ; and, in the purely formal sense, there was the appearance of the prose paragraph. Above all, the chief prose styles—the *ornate*, the *middle*, and the *plain*—are appearing faintly but perceptibly. With their arrival the rapid development of English prose is assured".

Now we come to the age of Elizabeth, one of the most remarkable period in the History of English Literature. tI

was mainly a period of poetry but prose was not altogether neglected. Unfortunately English prose style could not take an independent line of development. It was very much under the impact of poetry. Therefore the tendency is to write ornate, poetic prose rather than simple straight forward and analytical prose. At this stage in the development of English Literature as a whole the influence of the long forgotten Greek language, Greek poetry, and Greek philosophy was tremendous. This period as such is commonly referred to as the period of the Renaissance in English literature. To most people the knowledge of the Greek classics came through translations. These translations were mainly done from French Versions. The philosophy of Plato seemed full of Christian voice much more clearly than the writings of the Idol of the Middle Ages. Sir Thomas Elyod did everything possible to make Greek popular. His work however, in English is not very important. Roger Ascham (1515-68) is the representative of the earliest school of Elizabethan prose. His chief works included the *School Master*, and educational work containing some ideas that were fairly fresh. However, he was strongly influnced by classical models yet he has a strong Elizabethan sense of Nationality. In his treatise on archery entitled *Toxothilus* he declares his intention of "writing this English matter in the English speech for Englishmen". In writing English Ascham was all for plain English. In his opinion foreign words Anglicized make such a mixture "as if you put malmsey and sack, red wine and white, ale and beer, all in one pot." He could write clear and plain prose avoiding decoration and far-fetched gorgeous phrases. But he was not the man who was to decide the taste and direction of English prose style during the Elizabethan age.

John Lyly and Euphuism: While English prose was moving in the direction of plain and simple style, Lyly gave it a different turn and a direction which it took for quite sometimes. John Lyly was born in Kent (1554-1606), educated at Oxford and became a literary man in London. His first prose work *Euphues, the Anatomy of wit* (1579) made him one of the foremost figure of the day. He followed this book up with a second part, *Euphus and his England* (1580). The work is a kind of travel romance full of the

adventures of Euphues. The book became notorious for its prose style. It is the first consciously fabricated prose style in the English language. It is highly artificial and mannered. Its tricks are obvious and were imitated by a number of writers. Its common features are balanced phrases, alliteration, laboured comparisons taken from classical and other sources, and ornate epithets.

Lyly was the chief cause of the difficulty in telling a plain tale in a simple way. A number of minor writers of the Elizabethan age came under his spell and could not write plainly. In fact the age was intoxicated with language. It went mad and wanted words for the sake of words. The the Elizabethans loved gaudier methods , they liked highly decorative modes of expression, in prose no less than in verse. Lyly crystallized these feelings in his *Eupheues*. The style of Lyly came to be called Euphuism. Everybody 'read the book, every body copied it. The word Euphuism became a current description of an artificial way of using words that overflowed out of writing in this field. Every-one who was important in the Court and flattered round the Queen used Euphuism. It is made up of very exact and very definite series of parts. The writing is done on a plan which has three main characteristics. First the structure of the sentence is based on antithesis and alliteration. The sentence falls into equal part similar in sound but with a different sense ; for example, Eupheus is described as 'a young gallant of more wit than wealth, yet of more wealth than wisdom.' All the characters in the book speak in this way. The second characteristic of the style is the reference of every stated fact to some classical authority, that is to say, the author cannot friendship without quoting David and Jonathan. Similarly when he talks of lovers and their faithfulness he must give the example of Cressida and Aeneas. This is done to decorate page and matter which deal with things of every day experience. This use of classical allusion became a fashion of the more artificial kind of Elizabethan writing. Even the simple narratives in *Hakluyt's Voyages* are not free from it. Thirdly, *Euphues* is full of allusion to Natural history, mostly of a fabulous time. For example, "I have read that the bulil being tied to the fig tree loseth his tail ; that

the whole herd of deer stand a gaze if they smell a sweet apple ;" and so on. His book is full of these things and the style looses much of its force because of them.

Sidney's Arcadia : Euphues continued to be popular for a long time but it found a rival. Seven years before his death Sir Phillips Sydney in a period of retirement from the Court wrote *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia.* The Arcadia is the first English example of the prose pastoral romance. Its attraction is mainly for style. It goes one degree beyond *Euphues* in the direction of freedom and poetry. Sydney would take a word and use it again and again on a page till its meaning is sucked dry. On page after page the same trick is employed. Other points of his style belong to poetry rather than to prose. He commonly connects the appearance of nature with the moods of his character.

If Lyly and Sidney make prose highly artificial, Richard Hooker and Robert Burton and some other writers tried to make English prose style simple once again. Richard Hooker (1554—1600) is known for his *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. In style he is affected by classical writers. But on the whole he writes in a homely way. His sentence are carefully constructed and the rhythm moves easily. But still the style is scholarly and not that of the average man. Sir Thomas Overbury wrote a series of *Characters.* In style his book is strongly Euphuistic. Robert Burton (1577—1640) was the author of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*. The book had a tremendous influence over a generation of English writers. But its style is also full of big sentences pact with quotations and allusions. Besides these writers, translators and pamphleteers also handled English prose. The zeal for learning was expressed in frequent translations. But the translators cared little for verbal accuracy. All through this period many pamphlets on religion, politics, and literature were written. The most famous names are Thomas Nash, Robert Greene and Thomas Lodge. These pamphleteers, particularly Nash tried to simplify English prose.

With the help of all these writers and pamphleteers prose became for the first time in the reign of Elizabeth the

common medium of amusement of an information. It was further helped by printing. The books written in prose cover many departments of writing. There are the Historians who set down for us in English what they knew of the earlier History of England. There are the writers who described the England of their own day. Many wrote down the accounts of the voyages of the discoverers in the Western sea. There are the novelists who translated stories mainly from Italian sources. But in spite of this increased activity in writing English prose, the prose of this time could not achieve that point, precision and simplicity which it acquired in the hands of Dryden and 17th centuries prose writers. The fact was that the Elizabethan age was intoxicated with language. Its writers were using a new tongue, for English was enriched beyond all recognition with borrowing from the ancient authors. Like all artists who became possessed of a new medium, the Elizabethan writers used in English prose to excess. They went mad of a mere delight in words.

Bacon and his place : It is against this background that Bacon's place in the development of English prose style has to be determined. Now the question is : where does Bacon stand in the development of English prose style ? Does he belong to the Elizabethans ? Does he write the same rich, ornate, gorgeous English prose which was the hallmark of the Elizabethans ; does he show the same mad delight in words or does he belong to the later generation of English writers who used English prose for the sake of ordinary life and with simplicity and clarity? Does Bacon anticipate in his style the prose writers of the 17th and 18th centuries ? Can he be called the father of modern English prose ? These are the two sets of questions. In brief the questions are :

1. Does he belong to the age of Elizabeth ?

2. Does he look forward to the 17th and 18th century prose-writers ?

The answer to these questions is that Bacon occupied in prose style a position somewhere between the Elizabethans and the late 17th centuries simpler styles. Sometimes his prose seems to point backward and suffers from

all those defects from which the Elizabethan prose suffers. But very often, particularly in his *Advancement of Learning* and his *Essays*, he can write simple, effective, logical prose. As Professor Knights points out Bacon has moved away from the Elizabethan in the direction of order, discipline, and argument. His style shows more reason than the play of emotion. And yet he has not lost touch with rich concreteness and Elizabethan love of metaphor. The one weakness of his prose style is that he cannot write prose strongly impragnated with feeling. In the words of Redpath, "It is probably more helpful simply to say that Bacon occupies in prose style a position somewhere between the plentiful irregular vitality of the typical Elizabethans and the late 17th century barer styles..." In the opinion of Hugh Walker Bacon made a very definite contribution to the development of English prose style. In his opinion Bacon "took one of the longest step ever taken in the evolution of English prose style ; a style which set that style on the road which it travelled, though not without divagations, down to the days of English prose style is of great importance. His contribution is of everlasting significance.

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FRANCIS BACON

A SELECTION OF HIS WORKS

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1. OF TRUTH

What is truth ? said jesting Pilate ; and would not stay for an answer. Certainly there be that delight in giddiness, and count it a bondage to fix a belief; affecting free-will in thinking, as well as in acting. And though the sects of philosophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing wits, which are of the same veins, though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of truth ; nor again, that when it is found, it imposeth upon men's thoughts, that doth bring lies in favour ; but a natural though corrupt love of the lie itself. One of the later school of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand to think what should be in it, that men should love lies ; where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets ; nor for advantage, as with the merchant ; but for the lie's sake. But I cannot tell: this same truth is a naked and open daylight, that doth not show the masques, and mummeries, and triumphs of the world, half so stately and daintily as candle-lights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that showeth best by day, but it will not rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that showeth best in varied lights. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt that if there were taken out of men's minds vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would, and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves ? One of the fathers, in great severity, called poesy *vinum daemonum*, because it filleth the imagination, and

yet it is but with the shadow of a lie. But it is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but the lie that sinketh in, and settleth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoever these things are thus in men's depraved judgements and affections, yet truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the lovemaking or wooing of it, the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it, and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature. The first creature of God, in the works of the days, was the light of the sense; the last was the light of reason; and his sabbath work ever since is the illumination of his Spirit. First he breathed light upon the face of the matter or chaos; then he breathed light into the face of man; and still he breatheth and inspireth light into the face of his chosen. The poet that beautified the sect that was otherwise inferior to the rest, saith yet excellently well: *It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tossed upon the sea: a pleasure to stand in the window of a castle, and to see a battle and the adventures thereof below: but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of truth,* (a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene), *and to see the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempests, in the vale below*: so always that this prospect be with pity, and not with swelling or pride. Certainly, it is heaven upon earth, to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth.

To pass from theological and philosophical truth to the truth of civil business; it will be acknowledged, even by those that practise it not, that clear and round dealing is the honour of man's nature, and that mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent; which

goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the feet. There is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious. And therefore Montaigne saith prettily, when he inquired the reason why the word of the lie should be such a disgrace, and such an odious charge, saith he, *If it be well weighed, to say that a man lieth, is as much to say as that he is brave towards God and a coward towards men. For a lie faces God, and shrinks from man.* Surely the wickedness of falsehood and breach of faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed as in that it shall be the last peal to call the judgements of God upon the generations of men : it being foretold that, when Christ cometh, *he shall not find faith upon the earth.*

Notes and Explanations :

Pilate—He was a Roman governor of Judea. He tried Jesus Christ and condemned him to death.

Jesting—to make fun. This word is very important here. The expression 'jesting Pilate' means that he did not care to know the truth. When he saw truth in the form of Christ, Pilate laughingly asked Christ about truth. The spirit behind the question was that of scepticism and total unbelief. He rejected and even punished the Truth. He felt satisfied with his vanity and whims. He was so confident of his own vanity that he would not care for the answer of Christ who really knew Truth. So by introducing 'jesting Pilate' in the essay Bacon wants to say that men do not care to know the Truth ; they prefer to live in the world of their own ideas and whims. Their attitude is the attitude of the 'jesting Pilate'. They would condemn the Truth to death rather than accept it.

There be that—'be' here means 'are' ; so the whole expression would mean 'there are that.'

Giddiness—constant change of opinion.

Delight in giddiness—There are people who take pleasure in constantly changing their opinion to suit the circum-

stances. The belief in Truth would not give them this freedom ; it would be holding on to a fixed belief.

Count—consider. *Bondage*—slavery ; restriction ; loss of freedom.

Count it a bondage to fix a belief—people consider it loss of freedom to have a definite belief. If one believes in Truth, it means to stick to a belief. Thus there is slavery to a fixed belief, the truth, and no freedom of ideas and opinions.

Affecting—desiring ; aiming at. The word is not used in its modern English sense ; it is used in its Latin sense.

Free-will—freedom.

Affecting free-will in thinking—by taking delight in constant change of opinion and by not caring for Truth, people aim at having full freedom in their thinking as well as in their action. The belief in Truth will mean loss of freedom in thinking and action.

Sects of philosophers—various sceptical schools of philosophy in Greece, who preached that there was no certainty of knowing the Truth ; therefore scepticism and freedom of ideas was better than bondage to a fixed idea.

Be gone—are not longer there.

Discoursing—not knowing what they say ; constantly changing ; unsteady. *Wits*—minds ; persons.

Discoursing wit—It means persons who do not know what they say, who are unsteady in their opinions.

Of the same viens—of the same type, that if these people are of the same kind as sceptical philosophers of Greece who denied the certainty of Truth.

Viens :—disposition ; bent of mind ; type.

There be not so much blood in them—these 'discoursing wits' however do not have the same powerful arguments as the Greek philosophers had. There is not enough force and vigour in their arguments given to support scepticism.

Imposeth upon—check ; restrain.

When it is found it imposeth upon men's thoughts—When truth is known to a person, he cannot hold all kinds of ideas. He will believe in Truth alone ; so it would mean that Truth checks freedom of thought. People like freedom of thought so that they could hold any idea according to the need or demand of the situation.

A natural though corrupt love of the lie itself—People do not like the truth mainly because there is natural desire and love for lies in human hearts.

Grecians—the Greeks.

One of the later school of the Grecians—the Greek philosophers who came afterwards. The reference is perhaps to Lucian and his followers. Lucian was a satirist and humourist.

Is at a stand—fail to understand ; at a loss.

What should be in it—what is the reason.

Make for—give.

For the lie's sake—to tell lies for the sake of lies.

I cannot tell—I do not know the exact reason.

Is a naked and upon day-light—is a very powerful light.

Masks and mummeries—they actually mean dramatic performances on the stage. The modern English word for these performances is 'masque'. Both Queen Elizabeth and James I liked masque. The best known masques are those of Ben Jonson. The main thing in this kind of dramatic performance is that actors and actresses put on fine custumes and there is a splendid and stately show.

Triumphs—victories ; splendid achievements.

So stately and daintily—so magnificently and beautifully.

As candle lights—lights used on the stage. The candle lights add to the show, beauty and charm of the 'masks and mummeries' when they are put on the stage.

Exp. ***This same truth.........half so stately and daintily as candle-lights***—Truth is a powerful light in comparison with candle lights. But even then the candle-lights add very powerfully to the charm, beauty and show of the masks and mummeries. With the help of the candle-lights the show on stage becomes all the more magnificent and stately. But truth even though it is a more powerful light, does not add even half as much beauty and charm to life as candle-lights add to the masks on the stage. In other words Bacon wants to say that those who hold to truth in life cannot increase the' glory and stateliness of their life even as the candle-lights increase the beauty and stateliness of the performance on the stage. In other words the light of Truth on the stage of life does not play the same useful role as candle-lights on the dramatic stage. The candle-lights show up the performance on the stage but the light of Truth does not show up to advantage the masques and pageantries that men play on the stage of life.

Come to the price of a pearl—may be equal to the value of a pearl.

Truth may perhaps come.........best by day—Just as the light of Truth does not show up life to advantage, similarly in value it is at best as good as a pearl. Truth can add luster only where straight, honest dealings are carried out just as a pearl shines out only in day light.

Carbuncle—red precious stone.

But it will not rise to the price...........varied lights—Diamond or carbuncle shine out by day as well as by night. They add luster to their owner and surroundings under all circumstances. Truth cannot serve mankind in varied lights ; truth can be employed best only in daylight. In other words the currency and value of truth is as limited as that of pearl ; it can never rise to the level of diamond or carbuncle which could be used profitably anywhere.

Vain opinions—inflated ideas ; false notions.

Flattering hopes—ambitious hopes.

False valuations—wrong notions.

Imaginations as one would—fancies and whims in which one likes to indulge.

Poor shrunken things—completely deflated ; deprived of all that they hold dear.

Exp. *Doth any man doubt......unpleasing to themselves ?*—In these lines Bacon suggests that truth in men's minds exists alongside with vain opinions, false valuations, flattering hopes and the like. It is combination with these that truth works the better in life. If men's minds are deprived of all these non-truth elements, they will feel deflated and miserable.

The Fathers—priests of the early church.

In great severity—harshly ; in rash judgment.

Because it filleth the imagination—it fills the minds with all kinds of ideas real and imaginary. true and false ; and therefore the wine of devils.

And yet it is......shadow of a lie—but poetry fills the mind with feeble lies only, lies which are mere shadows.

Exp. *One of the Fathers......shadow of a lie*—it was a very harsh judgment on poetry when one of the Fathers declared it to be the wine of devils because in his opinion it filled the mind with much falsehood. In fact, Bacon points out, poetry fills the mind with feeble lies only.

Passeth through the mind—leaves a temporary impression on the mind ; just skin-deep not deeply settled in the heart.

But the lie that sinketh .....the hurt—the lie that becomes ingrained in the heart, becomes the very nature in man, causes the greatest harm.

These things—vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, all kinds of deeply-seated lies in men.

In men's depraved judgments and affections—are part of man's life and desires ; they constitute his false judgments and needs.

Which only doth judge itself—which is an absolute value in itself ; it does not demean itself by comparing itself with other values of life.

Love-making or wooing of it—passionate devotion to it.

The knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it—if one has the knowledge of truth, it means truth resides in him ; he feels its bracing presence.

Sovereign gaod—the greatest good.

Creature—a created thing.

In the works of the days—according to the first chapter, the Genesis, of the Bible, God took six days to create this world ; on Sunday He took rest, the Sabbath day. So the 'works of the days' means the various 'creatures' that God created during the six days of the week.

Sabbath work—work during his leisure time. The creation of the world took six days, from Monday to Saturday, and on the seventh day, Sunday, God took rest.

The illumination of his spirit—Bacon believes that at the time of creation God gave to man 'the light of the sense' and 'the light of reason'. He infused the light of spirit during the Sabbath. So He did take rest from the work of creation, but He is still occupied with the work of redemption. He is attempting the illumination of men's minds by means of his spirit. Bacon has called God "the Father of illumination or lights".

First he breathed......matter or chaos—when God began the creation of this world, there was utter darkness. There was lawlessness and the space around him was 'chaos.' He said 'Fiat Lux' and there was light ; darkness of chaos was dispelled.

Then he breathed......face of man—Man had committed sin and he needed light. God gave him enlightenment.

His chosen—persons dear to God.

And still he......of his chosen—Man is surrounded by sins and pitfalls, and there are temptations at every step. In order to save His chosen people God continues to give them light.

The poet—the reference is to Lucretius.

The sect—a group of people with its own philosophy, called the Epicureans.

The poet that beautified the sect—the poet, Lucretius, who was the glory of his sect.

Beautified—to be the glory of.

Otherwise—in many other respects expect their passion for truth. Bacon did not like the doctrine of pleasure of the Epicureans. Epicurus was an atomist (belief that the universe is made up of atoms) in physics, and a Hedonist in ethics. Bacon like the method of the Atomists but did not approve of the philosophy of pleasure.

Saith yet excellently well—says in a still better manner.

Vantage ground—a strong position from where one could defend or attack successfully.

Standing upon the vantage ground of Truth—it means to have the knowledge and belief of truth, so that one occupies a strong position in the battle of life in order to defend oneself against the lies and fallacies of the world.

A hill not to be commanded—a very high position which cannot be easily seen. It means that the vantage ground of Truth is so elevated that an ordinary person cannot 'command' it, i. e. cannot see it and occupy it. At this height the air is always pure and peaceful. In other words, the elevated vantage ground of Truth keeps one away from the mists of falsehood.

And to see......the vale below—when a person has the knowledge and belief of Truth, he occupies the 'vantage ground of Truth' which is at an elevated position. From this elevated position and armed with the knowledge of truth, he can look down below into the valley of the world and can see how errors are committed, how men are misled, how their vision is clouded by the mists of fallacies and uncertainties, and how all these things create commotions and agitations (tempests) in the peaceful stream of life.

In the value below—the valley of life.

This prospect—this scene in the valley of life where you watch 'tee errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempests'.

So always that......not with swelling or pride—this scene should be viewed from the vantage ground of Truth with a sense of pity and compassion and not with a feeling of arrogance or pride. If we are fortunate enough to stand upon the vantage ground of Truth, it does not mean that we should view the prospect in the valley of life with pride or arrogance. There should be pity in our hearts considering that these unfortunate people have been denied the privilege of standing upon the vantage ground of Truth and therefore they are given to 'wanderings' and committing 'errors'.

Swelling—arrogance.

It is a pleasure......and not with swelling or pride—Bacon says that there are many moments of joy and excitement in life. It is indeed a great pleasure to stand at the shore and watch beautiful ships tossing upon the sea. The sight thrills and gives joy. Similarly it gives pleasure to stand in the window of a castle and view a battle with its heroic deeds. But there is no greater pleasure than the pleasure of standing on the vantage of Truth. From the vantage ground of the shore a men could see the ships tossing on the sea ; from the vantage ground of a window in the castle, he could see the battle and its heroic deeds ; from the vantage ground of Truth, he could see the whole phenomena of life. He could see how men are given to errors, and to wanderings ; how their vision is clouded by 'mists' and how there are agitations and disturbances in life because all these creatures of God have been denied the 'knowledge and belief of Truth'. But each man who occupies the vantage ground of Truth should watch this prospect of life with pity and not with pride.

It is heaven upon earth—It is the greatest pleasure.

In charity—In the previous line Bacon has used the word 'pity'. 'Charity' reinforces the same idea. 'Charity' would mean compassion and pity as opposed to 'swelling' and 'pride'.

To have a man's mind more in charity—in spite of standing on the vantage ground of Truth, a position of rare

privilege, the mind of man should work with feeling of compassion and charity.

Rest in providence—we should have faith in the divine will : all our reasonings should rest upon truths. We should surrender our will to God's will. Or to put it in the words of Bacon (used earlier in the essay) we should let our spirits be illumined by his spirit.

Turn upon the poles of truth—This is a metaphorical way of putting the idea that it is the greatest pleasure for a man to have his ideas centre round the Truth. 'Poles' means 'fixed points' which do not shake under blasts of falsehood or conflicting thoughts. In the *Advancement of Learning* Bacon points out that it is human nature "to have somewhat in his understanding fixed and immovable" so that the mind could have rest and support in times of stress and strain. Such fixed and immovable points, to be called 'poles', keep men's minds from fluctuation. Therefore men do set down some principles to which they could refer in times of doubts, conflicts and confusion. Bacon says it is the greatest pleasure if the fixed and immovable points in man's mind, are those of Truth.

Theological and philosophical truth—the conception of Truth as is found in Theology and Philosophy.

Truth of civil business—the conception of truth as is found in daily life.

Clear and round dealing—honest and straightforward behaviour.

Is the honour of man's nature—adds glory to the life of man.

Alloy—a mixture of two or three metals, especially a metal of low value mixed with one of high value. Generally an alloy is prepared by mixing a metal of low value with metal of high value.

Alloy in coin of gold and silver—The gold and silver coins are not made of pure gold and silver. Generally some other metal of inferior value is mixed with them.

Which may make the metal work the better—with the mixture of alloy both gold and silver are turned into precious c oins which are in great demand.

Embaseth it—deteriorates it ; makes it inferior.

Exp. *And that mixture......embaseth it*—with the mixture of some alloy ; gold and silver are put to good use in the business of life, even though both these metals lose their purity. Similarly the mixture of falsehood with Truth makes the latter serve the purposes of civil life better, though 'Truth' is debased. Bacon suggests that it is heaven upon earth 'to have a man's mind turn upon the poles of truth' ; it admits that it is the glory of man to have honest and plain dealings. But he points out that the fact of 'civil business' is that truth with a mixture of falsehood, like a mixture of alloy in gold and silver coins, works the better in day today life.

These winding and crooked courses—these false and round about dealings.

Goings ways—Are the goings of the serpent : false and crooked dealings befit Satan only.

The serpent—Satan. In order to take revenge upon God, Satan thought of causing harm to Adam. As Adam was cautious, Satan turned into Serpent and reached Eve. He tempted her and made her commit sin. Satan did adopt a straight course in taking revenge upon God. He adopted 'crooked' ways.

Basely—in a mean manner.

Which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the feet—Satan does not know how to stand upright, how to be honest and straight ; he knows only crookedness and meanness.

Perfidious—treacherous ; breaking of faith.

Montainge—French philosopher and essayist of the 16th century.

A disgrace—a thing of shame.

Odious—mean, bad. Charge : blame.

He is brave towards God—the law of god is the law of Truth. *If one violates it, one will be punished* : In spite of this knowledge if a man violates it, it may be said ironically that he is brave towards God.

A coward towards men—the glory of man's nature is to have round and plain dealings towards other men. If instead he resorts to lie, it means he is a coward and has no courage to façe men in the right spirit.

For a lie faces God—the divine law is the law of truth. A lie, therefore, cannot escape God ; it has to face God just as Satan, an embodiment of all lies, had to face Him.

And shrinks from man—a lie does escape from the notice of an ordinary person. Without facing him, it accomplishes its purpose in 'civil business'.

Breach of faith—to break one's promises.

The last peal—the last warning bell.

The judgments of God—according to Christian faith there is the Day of Judgment when all men are judged by God according to their deeds.

Foretold—can be told beforehand.

When Christ cometh—that 's for the final judgment of mankind.

Faith—belief in God.

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2. OF DEATH

Men fear neath as children fear to go in the dark; and as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of death, as the wages of sin, and passage to another world, is holy and religious; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto nature, is weak. Yet in religious meditations there is sometimes mixture of vanity and of superstition. You shall read, in some of the friars' books of mortification, that a man should think with himself what the pain is if he have but his finger's end pressed or tortured, and thereby imagine what the pains of death are, when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved; when many times death passeth with less pain than the torture of a limb; for the most vital parts are not the quickest of sense. And by him that spake only as a philosopher, and natural man, it was well said, *Pompa mortis magis terret quam mors ipsa.* Groans and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks, and obsequies, and the like, show death terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the mind of man so weak, but it mates and masters the fear of death; and therefore death is no such terrible enemy when a man hath so many attendants about him that can win the combat of him. Revenge triumphs over death; love slights it; honour aspireth to it; grief flieth to it; fear pre-occupateth it; nay we read, after Otho the emperor had slain himself, pity (which is the tenderest of affections) provoked many to die out of mere compassion to their sovereign, and as the truest sort of followers. Nay Seneca adds niceness and satiety: *Cogita quamdiu eadem feceris; mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus*

potest. A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration in good spirits the approaches of death make: for they appear to be the same men till the last instant. Augustus Caesar died in a compliment; *Livia, conjugii nostri memor, vive et vale.* Tiberius in dissimulation, as Tacitus saith of him; *Iam Tiberium vires et corpus, non dissimulatio, deserebant.* Vespasian in a jest, sitting upon the stool, *Ut puto Deus fio.* Galba with a sentence, *Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani,* holding forth his neck. Septimius Severus in dispatch, *Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum*; and the like. Certainly the Stoics bestowed too much cost upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better saith he, *qui finem vitae extremum inter munera ponat naturae.* It is as natural to die as to be born; and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earnest pursuit is like one that is wounded in hot blood, who, for the time, scarce feels the hurt; and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is good doth avert the dolours of death. But above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is *Nunc dimittis,* when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations. Death hath this also, that it openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy.

—*Extinctus amabitur idem.*

Notes and Explanations :

The other—*i.e.*, the fear of death.

Wages of sin—according to the Bible death was imposed as punishment on man for the sin of Adam and Eve.

Contemplation—thought.

Tribute—quality, characteristic.

Nature—human nature.

Meditation—deep thought.

Mortification—austerity ; self-imposed self-denial and discipline ; subjecting the body to self-denial.

Tortured—pained ; subjected to physical pain or suffering.

Corrupted—decomposed ; putrefied.

Dissolved—disintegrated.

Quickest of sense—most sensitive to pain.

Spake—spoke.

Only as a philosopher—Philosopher Seneca was guided y reason only. He was not a Christian and lacked the rtitude that religion gives. He lived in the first century .D.

Groan—cry, agony of death.

Black—black mourning dress.

Obsequies—funeral processions.

Mates—over-comes.

Attendants—servants like Revenge, Love, Honour, etc., who impel a man to court Death without any fear or hesitation.

Cambat—battle, fight against the fear of death.

Slight—flout ; not care for. A lover is not afraid of death on the path of love. He faces every danger boldly.

Aspireth—hankers after ; welcomes.

Pre-occupateth—anticipates (by suicide).

Otho—Roman Emperor who committed suicide after his defeat at the hands of Vitellius in 69 A.D.

Provoked—impelled, prompted.

Compassion—pity and sympathy.

Niceness—fine taste difficult to satisfy ; fastidiousness.

Satiety—weariness, being fed up.

Valiant—brave.

Upon a weariness—being tired of.

Good spirits—men of noble and strong minds.

Augutus Caesar—nephew of Julius Caesar and his adopted son, first Emperor of Rome.

Livia—wife of Augustus.

Tiberius—step-son of Augustus and his successor to the Roman Empire.

In dissimulation—died in hyporcrisy or as dissembler.

Tacitus—Roman historian who died about 54 A.D.

Vespasian—Roman Emperor who ruled from 69 to 79 A.D.

In a jest—died in a jest ; died joyfully.

Becoming a god—in the Roman Empire a deceased Emperor was always regarded as 'Divus' (divine).

Galba—Roman Emperor, ruled only for a year (68-69 A.D.). He was killed by rebellious troops.

Septimius—Roman Emperor (193-211 A.D.), conquered parts of England and died at York in England.

In dispatch—died while writing a message.

Stoic—a follower of Philosopher Zeno who founded his school of Athens (Greece) about 308 B.C. He made virtue the highest good, laid stress on morality, control of passions and indifference to pleasure and pain. His philosophy is just the opposite of Epicurus who preached pleasure and enjoyment of life.

Bestowed......upon death—exaggerated or attached too much importance to death.

Better saith he—Bacon refers to the Roman poet, Juvenal, a great satirist of the first century B.C.

Accounts the end of life—who regards death as a gift of nature ; hence something not to be afraid of.

The one......the other—birth is as painful to a baby as death, *i.e.*, Death is as natural and simple an affair as birth.

Pursuit—activity.

Hot blood—being wounded in hot blood (while fighting) gives no pain.

Dolours—pains, pangs, agonies.

Canticle—little song, hymn of Prayer-Book.

Now lettest thou......depart—this is the prayer or hymn of a Jew, named Simeon, who having lived long enough to see Christ said, "Lord, now let thy servant die in peace !"

Extinguish—bring end to.

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3. OF ADVERSITY

It was a high speech of Seneca (after the manner of the Stoics) *that the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished, but the good things that belong to adversity are to be admired. Bona rerum secundarum optabilia; adversarum mirabilia.* Certainly if miracles be the command over nature, they appear most in adversity. It is yet a higher speech of his than the other, (much too high for a heathen) *It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a man, and the security of a God. Vere magnum habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei.* This would have done better in poesy, where transcendences are more allowed. And the poets, indeed, have been busy with it; for it is, in effect, the thing which is figured in that strange fiction of the ancient poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery; nay, and to have some approach to the state of a Christian: that *Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus* (by whom human nature is represented), *sailed the length of the great ocean in an earthen pot or pitcher*: lively describing Christian resolution, that saileth in the frail bark of the flesh through the waves of the world. But to speak in a mean. The virtue of prosperity is temperance; the virtue of adversity is fortitude; which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament; adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities

of Salomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes ; and adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needleworks and embroideries it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground : judge therefore of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed, or crushed : for prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue.

Notes and Explanations :

High—noble, good.

Miracle—something too wonderful for human understanding.

Certainly, if miracles......in adversity—all wonderful achievements have been the result of struggle and labour in adverse circumstances. Prosperous people are prone to ease and pleasure and hence seldom perform miracles. Of course, they desire good things and wish to have and enjoy them.

Much too high—too noble, unexpected.

Heathen—non-Christian, *i.e.*, Seneca, Roman Philosopher and tutor to Nero.

Frailty—weakness.

Security—freedom from care.

Transcendences—exaggerations ; flights of imagination.

Fiction—fables and parables that were based on so moral, meaning or precept.

Mystery—hidden or allegorical meaning expressed in a fable or myth.

Nay—on the other hand ; rather.

Approach to the state of a Christian—hidden meanings of ancient parables and myths of poets sometimes express nearly the truths and beliefs of Christianity.

Hercules—the story is that Prometheus made a man of clay and infused life into it with fire stolen from Heaven. To punish him for this sin Jupiter bound him with chains to Mount Caucasus and set a vulture upon him to bite his flesh for ever. Hercules came to his help and saved him from captivity and torture. Bacon relates this old myth to a similar parable in the Bible and reads a hidden meaning in it.

Thorough—through.

In a mean—moderately or without exaggeration.

Temperance—moderation or self-restraint in enjoyment. Temperance is a virtue cultivated in prosperity. *Fortitude* or patience is the result of adversity. Fortitude is certainly a better quality than temperance.

Blessing of the old Testament—in the old Testament (of the Bible) Christ promises prosperity to his disciples as a reward for their obedience to God. While in the new Testament Christians are exhorted to suffer (fortitude) for the sake of their faith, *i.e.*, adversity is preached as a blessing.

David's harp—a book of the Bible consisting of hymns.

Hearse-like—mournful.

Airs—songs, tunes.

Carol—happy song ; Christmas hymn.

Pencil of the Holy Ghost (God)—the idea is that the contents of the Bible were inspired and caused to be written by sacred writers through the spirit of God.

Distastes—irritations, annoyances.

Lively—charming ; bright.

Solemn—grave, gloomy. "Sad and solemn ground" implies adversity while "Lively work" cannotes "Comfort and consolation".

Melancholy—means fear and distaste of the prosperous (light-some ground).

Precious odours—spices give out their best fragrance when they are burnt or crushed. Similarly the best in man (virtues inherent in him) is shown when he is pressed by poverty and suffering.

Vice—evil ; it is indulged in more by the wealthy and prosperous.

Virtue—good, it is the result of adversity.

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4. OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION

Dissimulation is but a faint kind of policy, or wisdom; for it asketh a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it. Therefore it is the weaker sort of politics that are the great dissemblers.

Tacitus saith, *Livia sorted well with the arts of her husband, end dissimulation of her son*; attributing arts or policy to Augustus, and dissimulation to Tiberius. And again, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian to take arms against Vitellius, he saith, *We rise not against the piercing judgement of Augustus nor the extreme caution or closeness of Tiberius.* These properties of arts or policy, and dissimulation or closeness, are indeed habits and faculties, sèveral, and to be distinguished. For if a man have that penetration of judgement as he can discern what things are to be laid open, and what to be secretted, and what to be showed at half-lights, and to whom, and when (which indeed are arts of state, and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them), to him a habit of dissimulation is a hindrance and a poorness. But if a man cannot obtain to that judgement, then it is left to him, generally, to be close, and a dissembler: for where a man cannot choose or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest way in general, like the going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest men that ever were, have had all an openness and frankness of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity; but then they were like horses well managed, for they could tell passing well when to stop or turn; and at such times when they thought the case indeed required dissimulation, if then they used

it, it came to pass that the former opinion, spread abroad, of their good faith and clearness of dealing, made them almost invisible.

There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's self: the first, closeness, reservation, and secrecy; when a man leaveth himself without observation or without hold to be taken, what he is: the second, dissimulation in the negative; when a man lets fall signs and arguments that he is not that he is: and the third, simulation in the affirmative; when a man industriously and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the first of these, secrecy, it is indeed the virtue of a confessor; and assuredly the secret man heareth many confessions; for who will open himself to a blab or a babbler? But if a man be thought secret, it inviteth discovery; as the more close air sucketh in the more open; and as in confession the revealing is not for worldly use, but for the ease of a man's heart, so secret men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind, while men rather discharge their minds than impart their minds. In few words, mysteries are due to secrecy. Besides (to say truth), nakedness is uncomely, as well in mind as body; and it addeth no small reverence to men's manners and actions if they be not altogether open. As for talkers and futile persons, they are commonly vain and credulous withal: for he that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not. Therefore set ι down, *that a habit of secrecy is both politic and moral.* And in this part it is good that a man's face give his tongue leave to speak; for the discovery of a man's self by the tracts of his countenance is a great weakness and betraying, by how much it is many times more marked and believed than a man's words.

For the second, which is dissimulation. It followeth many times upon secrecy by a necessity;

so that he that will be secret must be a dissembler in some degree. For men are too cunning to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be secret, without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beset a man with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that without an absurd silence, he must show an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations, or oraculous speeches, they cannot hold out long. So that no man can be secret, except he give himself a little scope of dissimulation, which is, as it were, but the skirts or train of secrecy.

But for the third degree, which is simulation and false profession, that I hold more culpable, and less politic, except it be in great and rare matters. And therefore a general custom of simulation (which is this last degree) is a vice rising either of a natural falseness or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main faults; which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise simulation in other things, lest his hand should be out of ure.

The great advantages of simulation and dissimulation are three. First, to lay asleep opposition, and to surprise; for where a man's intentions are published, it is an alarum to call up all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat; for if a man engages himself by a manifest declaration, he must go through, or take a fall. The third is, the better to discover the mind of another; for to him that opens himself men will hardly show themselves adverse; but will (fair) let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought; and therefore it is a good shrewd proverb of the Spaniard, *Tell a lie and find a truth*; as if there were no way of discovery but by simulation. There be also three disadvantages to set it even. The first, that simulation and dissimulation commonly carry with them a show of fearfulness, which in any business doth spoil the feathers of

round flying up to the mark. The second, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits of many, that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him, and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends. The third and greatest is, that it depriveth a man of one of the most principal instruments for action, which is trust and belief. The best composition and temperature is, to have openness in fame and opinion; secrecy in habit; dissimulation in seasonable use; and a power to feign, if there be no remedy.

Notes and Explanations:

Simulation—pretence; pretend to have or feel something that is actually not there.

Dissimulation—hide one's feelings; deceive.

Faint kind of policy—a weak policy.

Asketh—requires. *A strong wit*—a wise person.

A strong heart—a large hearted person.

To know when to tell truth, and to do it—to be careful when it will be profitable to tell the truth and when to practise it.

Dissimulation is but...........to do it—Bacon points out that dissimulation is a weak policy. It is not the wisdom of the great. Even a wise and large-hearted person will suffer if he had to follow this policy, for in order to practise dissimulation he will have to be careful when to speak the truth and when to practise it. His dealings will not be straight and round.

Weaker sort of politics—politicians or statesmen who are wanting in ability and decision.

Dissemblers—those who hide their real feelings.

Tacitus—a Roman historian born about the year 54 A. D.

Sorted well—agreed with.

Augustus—Augustus Caesar, a famous Roman Emperor.

Tiberius—he succeeded Augustus as Roman Emperor.

Attributing arts or policy of Augustus—Augustus Caesar was a man of clear and round dealings, a man of ability and power of decision.

Dissimulation of Tiberius—Tiberius practised dissimulation.

Exp. *Tacitus saith............Tiberius*—Tacitus draws out a clear distinction between straight wise policy and dissimulation. Augustus Caesar was the embodiment of the former, Tiberius of the latter. Livia applied this distinction for the policies of her husband and son.

Vespasian—a Roman Emperor, A. D. 69—79.

To take arms against—to revolt.

Closeness—secrecy.

Properties—characteristics.

Several—separate, distinct.

These properties............to be distinguished—The arts or policy, in other words bold, clear and round dealings are different from dissimulation or closeness. They are indeed quite distinct habits of mind, and their functions should be carefully understood.

That penetration of judgment—powerful faculty of judgment.

Discern—see ; find out.

What things are to be laid apen—what things are to be openly discussed and exposed.

What to be secreted—what things are to be kept secret.

What to be shewed at half lights—what things are to be partially revealed.

A hinderance—an obstacle.

A poorness—a poor, weak asset.

Exp. *For if a man......a hinderance and a poorness*—If a man has ability and real power of judgment, he need not practise dissimulation. A man of penetrating judgment knows what things are to be openly discussed and made public. Such a politician also knows what things are to be kept secret in the arts of state and arts of life. He is also well aware that certain things are to be revealed partially, in twilight as it were. Thus a man of penetrating judgment already knows his mind and he is confident of what to do. To such a man dissimulation is a poor asset; in fact it is an obstacle. If such a man takes to dissimulation, he will fall into errors of judgment.

Obtain—attain ; acquire.

That judgment—that penetrating and powerful judgment whereby a man clearly knows his mind.

To be close, and a dissembler—he can be secretive and would hide his real feels, for douts and uncertainties will never permit him to open out.

Cannot choose—cannot select the course of action properly and clearly. *Cannot vary in particulars*—cannot adopt the required method according to the situation or particulars.

Wariest way—most cautious way.

Like the going softly—moving slowly and steadily.

By one—by a person.

That cannot well see—a person who cannot see very well will naturally walk slowly and steadily.

Exp. *But if a man......that cannot well see*—In these lines Bacon says if a person is not possessed with a penetrating judgment, the best thing for him is to follow the policy of secrecy and dissimulation. The man of judgment will act according to the demands of the situation—he will 'vary in particulars'. Sometimes he will use openness, and sometimes secrecy just as a man with a good sight can see when it is safe, and when dangerous, to walk quickly. But a man of ordinary abilities is just like a blind man who should walk slowly everywhere. A policy of secrecy and dissimu-

lation is safer in such cases than a careless betrayal of his intentions.

A name of certainity and veracity—famous for their decisive actions and honesty.

Veracity—honesty.

Horses well managed—horses well trained.

It came to pass—it happened.

The former opinion—that is they are men of openness and frank dealings.

Make them almost invisible—nobody could suspect them of dissimulation because of their widespread fame as men of honesty and open dealings.

Exp. *Certainly the ablest men ....almost invisible*—In these lines Bacon points out that the ablest men generally followed the policy of openness and frankness, and thus they enjoyed the reputation of being men decisive action and honesty. But these men were like well trained horses which know where to turn and where to stop. Whenever these men thought that the situation demanded dissimulation, they did take recourse without any harm coming to them. Their reputation of being honest and straight always sheilded them from any suspicion of dissimulation.

Hiding and veiling—concealing.

When a man leaveth himself without observation—makes himself beyond observation. In other words nobody can observe or read these men because of closeness and secrecy they practise.

Or without hold to be taken, what he is—in their case it is difficult to make any firm opinion about them. They do not allow themselves to be observed or studied by others.

When a man...........that he is not that he is—when he talks and argues in a manner that he is successful in deceiving others to believe that he not what others think him to be.

Dissimulation, in the negative—to say things which give just the opposite impression of what one is.

Exp. *Simulation, in the affirmative*—to assume qualities which one does not possess really and thus deceive people into believing that one is really something more than what they think.

Here the distinction between these two words 'Dissimulation and Simulation' should be clearly noted. Dissimulation is a word with negative implications. In dissimulation a person hides his real feelings ; he make certain qualities of his negative as it were. Simulation is a word with positive implications If a person practises simulation. It means he adds something to his personality which he did not possess. So it is a kind of affirmative act, a process where you add. In dissimulation, you hide what you possess, a process of substraction—a negative implication.

Industriously—deliberately ; purposely.

Expressly—on purpose. Feigns : pretends.

A confessor—a person who listens to the confessions of others. The secret man : the man who maintains secrecy.

Confessions—to say about one's own mistakes and sins.

Open himself—say out his inner thoughts and feelings ; make confessions.

A blab or babbler—a person who talks too much.

Inviteth—encourages. Discovery : disclosure.

For who will open......babbler ?—Nobody would like to make his confessions before a blab for fear that he would let them out.

The revealing is not for worldly use—a person who makes confessions and reveals his inner life to another does not want that the world should know it.

But for the ease of a man's heart—a person makes confession in order to relieve his heart of the weight of something that was weighing heavy on it. When he has said what he wanted to say, he feels light, and when he has found a 'confessor', he feels comforted.

In that kind—in that manner.

Discharge—open out ; confess ; unburden.

While men rather discharge their minds—before a man who maintains secrecy, people easily open out their mind and hearts.

Than impart their minds—in confession people unburden themselves and those who hear the confessions do not say out anything.

But if a man be thought secret......than impart their minds : Men are encouraged to open their minds to those who have the reputation of keeping secrets to themselves. The simple reason for this is that when a man makes confessions, he does not want that the world should share in them, should know his inner life. He unburdens himself of the disturbing thoughts simply to feel relieved. In this way men who have the reputation of being secret come to learn many things. During the course of the confession, people unburden their inner feelings but do not learn anything about those who hear their confessions.

Mysteries are due to secrecy—when certain things are kept secret, naturally the other people consider these things mysterious.

Uncomely—not decent ; unbecoming.

Exp. *Besides (to say truth) nakedness......altogether open*—In his essay 'Of Truth' Bacon points out that gold and silver coins work the better with a mixture of alloy in them. In the same vein he suggests here that openness in thought is as unbecoming as nakedness of body. A little mixture of secrecy leads to greater respect of men's manners and actions.

Futile—talkative. Vain : windy ; boasting too much.

Credulous withal—easily believe others.

For he that talketh......what he knoweth not—A person who is given to talking too much will not only say what he knows but he would quite often led into saying what he knows not. In other words such a 'futile' person will be indiscreet in his utterances.

Set it down—make a note of it.

Both politic and moral—wise and morally good. It is wise because the habit of secrecy raises you in the estimation of others and leads to respect. It is morally good because it saves you from the sin of being indiscreet in your utterances."

And in this part—in the matter of maintaining secrecy.

That a man's face give his tongue leave to speak—in maintaining secrecy it is essential that a man's face should not betray anything. Only his tongue should express whatever he wants to say. In the *Advancement of Learning* he says : "A man may destroy the force of his words with his countenance".

Discovery—disclosure. A man may disclose himself by his face.

Tracts—features ; traits. Countenance : face.

Betraying—to reveal the secret.

Many times more marked—many times more clearly noticeable and believed than a man's words.

Exp. *And in this part......than a man's words*—In order to maintain secrecy it is essential that a man's face should not betray anything. Under all circumstances, it should remain cool and collected. The tongue alone should express whatever a 'secret' man wants to say. If a man discloses himself by the feelings and emotions on his face, it may be considered a great weakness in him ; he is not then qualified to keep secrets. What is revealed on the face is believed many times more than what is said in words.

It followeth many times upon secrecy—dissimulation is the natural result of secrecy. One who wants to maintain secrecy has of necessity to practise dissimulation.

In some degree—to some extent.

Cunning—clever.

To suffer a man—to allow a man.

In different carriage—a neutral attitude ; show unconcern for.

To suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage—people are very clever and will not allow a man to keep an 'indifferent attitude'. A person trying to be 'secret' will show an 'indifferent carriage' but the others will insist on knowing his opinions or ideas. If he has to maintain secrecy, he will have to dissemble.

Between both—to show unconcern towards openness as well as dissimulation.

Swaying—disturbing.

So beset a man with questions—ask many questions.

Draw him on—try to get his opinion or ascertain his wishes.

Without an absured silence—he cannot remain silent foolishly. *Absured*—unreasonably.

He must show an inclination one way—he must either open himself out of dissemble.

They will gather............by his speech—when questions are being put to him, a man remain silent in his desire to maintain secrecy, people immediately draw their own inferences from his silence. They could have learn something from his speech if he had spoken out. If he prefers to remain silent, even then people will draw their own inferences about him.

Equivocations—use ambiguous and confusing words to conceal the truth.

Oraculous—high-sounding.

They cannot hold out 'ong—you cannot indulge in them for a long time.

The skirts or train of secrecy—dissimulation is in inevitable result of secrecy.

False profession—wrong claim.

Culpable—deserving blame ; worthy to be condemned.

Politic—wise.

Except it be in great and rare matters—only in some rare

cases in simulation to be practised ; it is something culpable otherwise.

Custom—habit ; practice.

Fearfulness—timidity ; cowardice.

Main faults—great faults.

Rising either of a natural falseness...........hath some main faults—If some people practise simulation regularly, it is because either they are inherently false or they are timid. Or simulation may also be practised by them because they have some great faults and in order to hide them they boast to be what they are not.

To lay asleep opposition—to keep opposition ineffective. Those who practice simulation and dissimulation cannot be correctly observed and studied by their opponents. So the opponents do not get the opportunity to criticise or attack as they do not come to know the real situation.

To surprise—on the other hand, a dissembler can always surprise his opponents. *Surprise*—to attack unawares.

Intentions or published—intentions are made known.

Alarum—an alarm ; a loud call.

To call up all—to invite all.

To reserve to a man's self—to keep for oneself.

A fair retreat—a good chance of escape.

The second is ....a fair retreat—If simulation and dissimulation lead a man into a wrong course, it does not mean he has burnt his boats, he cannot retreat. In fact, as his intentions and motives are not known, he can change sides and take a different course.

Manifest—clear.

Engage himself—enter into fight.

He must go through—he must stick to his position for there is no retreat.

Or take a fall—or else be defeated.

Adverse—opposed.

Turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought—with a man who opens out people will have freedom of thought.

Shrewd—clever.

Tell a lie and find a truth—open yourself out to others, even if you tell nothing but lies, and the others will unburden themselves unto you. So simulation leads to the disclosure or discovery of others.

To set it even—to balance it.

In any business—in any walk of life.

Round—direct ; straightforward.

The first, that simulation and............up to the mark—Simulation and dissimulation conceal a man's real self and he acts as a timid person in life. Because of timidity and uncertainty he wastes time in reaching his object while the bold man draws nearer and nearer to it.

It puzzleth and perplexeth—simulation causes confusion and uncertainty in the ideas of many.

Conceits—ideas.

Camposition and temperature—personality and temperament.

To have openness in fame and opinion—a reputation and general opinion for openness.

In seasonable use—in occasional use, if need be.

A power to feign—a power to pretend ; capacity for simulation.

If there be no remedy—if there is no way out.

Exp. *The best composition and temperature......if there be no remedy*—After pointing out the various advantages and disadvantages of simulation and dissimulation, Bacon gives his mature conclusion in these lines. He finds it difficult to recommend simulation ; it is something culpable. So he suggests that the best combination in a man is to have a reputation and generally favourable opinion of his openness. He should be secret in habit. He should practise dissimulation only occasionally. And if there is no way out, he could resort to simulation.

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5. OF GREAT PLACE

Men in great place are thrice servants : servants of the sovereign or state, servants of fame, and servants of business ; so as they have no freedom, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire to seek power and to lose liberty ; or to seek power over others, and to lose power over a man's self. The rising unto place is laborious, and by pains men come to greater pains ; and it is sometimes base, and by indignities men come to dignities. The standing is slippery, and the regress is either a downfall, or at least an eclipse, which is a melancholy thing. *Cum non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere.* Nay, retire men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reason ; but are impatient of privateness even in age and sickness, which require the shadow ; like old townsmen, that will be still sitting at their street-door, though thereby they offer age to scorn. Certainly great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions to think themselves happy ; for if they judge by their own feelings they cannot find it ; but if they think with themselves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy as it were by report, when, perhaps, they find the contrary within ; for they are the first that find their own griefs, though they be the last that find their own faults. Certainly, men in great fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of business they have no time to tend their health eitheir of body or mind. *Illi mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.* In place, there is licence to do good, and evil : whereof the latter is a curse ; for in evil the best condition is not to will,

the second not to can. But power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring; for good thoughts (though God accept them) yet towards men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act; and that cannot be without power and place, as the vantage and commanding ground. Merit and good works is the end of man's motion; and conscience of the same is the accomplishment of man's rest: for if a man can be partaker of God's theatre, he shall likewise be partaker of God's rest. *Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret opera quae fecerunt manus suae, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis*; and then the Sabbath.

In the discharge of thy place set before thee the best examples; for imitation is a globe of precepts. And after a time set before thee thine own example; and examine thyself strictly whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the same place; not to set off thyself by taxing their memory, but to direct thyself what to avoid. Reform, therefore, without bravery or scandal of former times and persons; but yet set it down to thyself, as well to create good precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to the first institution, and observe wherein and how they have degenerate; but yet ask counsel of both times; of the ancient time what is best, and of the latter time what is fittest. Seek to make thy course regular, that men may know beforehand what they may expect; but be not too positive and peremptory; and express thyself well when thou digressest from thy rule. Preserve the right of thy place, but stir not questions of jurisdiction; and rather assume thy right in silence and *de facto*, than voice it with claims and challenges. Preserve likewise the rights of inferior places; and think it more honour to direct in chief than to be busy in all. Embrace and invite helps and advices touching the execution of thy place; and do not drive away

such as bring thee information as meddlers, but accept of them in good part.

The vices of authority are chiefly four: delays, corruption, roughness, and facility. For delays, give easy access; keep times appointed; go through with that which is in hand; and interlace not business but of necessity. For corruption, do not only bind thine own hands or thy servants' hands from taking, but bind the hands of suitors also from offering; for integrity used doth the one; but integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other; and avoid not only the fault, but the suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly without manifest cause, giveth suspicion of corruption: therefore, always, when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change, and do not think to steal it. A servant or a favourite, if he be inward, and no other apparent cause of esteem, is commonly thought but a by-way to close corruption. For roughness, it is a needless cause of discontent: severity breedeth fear, but roughness breedeth hate. Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for facility, it is worse than bribery; for bribes come but now and then; but if importunity or idle respects lead a man, he shall never be without. As Solomon saith, *To respect persons is not good; for such a man will transgress for a piece of bread.*

It is most true that was anciently spoken; *A place showeth the man*: and it showeth some to the better and some to the worse. *Omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset*, saith Tacitus of Galba; but of Vespasian he saith, *Solus imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius*; though the one was meant of sufficiency, the other of manners and affection. It is an assured sign of a worthy and generous spirit, whom honour amends; for honour is or should be the place of virtue; and as in nature things move violently to their place, and calmly in

their place, so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority settled and calm. All rising to great place is by a winding stair ; and if there be factions, it is good to side a man's self whilst he is in the rising, and to balance himself when he is placed. Use the memory of thy predecessor fairly and tenderly ; for if thou dost not, it is a debt will sure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have colleagues, respect them, and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too sensible or too remembering of thy place in conversation and private answers to suitors ; but let it rather be said, ***When he sits in place, he is another man.***

Notes and Explanations :

Men in great place—men occupying high positions.

Are thrice servants—are servants to three authorities ; have to satisfy three different bosses as it were.

Sovereign —king.

Servants of fame—men occupying high positions are hungry of fame, and they do, like a servant, everything to get it, cf. Milton : 'fame is the last infirmity of a great man's mind'.

Servants of business—given to their job.

Exp. *Men in great places.........servants of business*— Men occupying high positions in a State have to look after three interests. They are to obey the dictates of the king or the state. They are obsessed with the idea of fame and do everything to procure it. They have to do their job efficiently and well. Thus all the time they are worried by and preoccupied with these three interests ; they have no freedom of their own.

So as—so that.

Neither in their persons—not even in physical movements. They have to move about not on their own but

according to the dictates of these three masters—sovereign, fame, and business.

Nor in their actions—they have no freedom to act as they like. All their actions are guided by the three masters to whom they are servants.

Nor in their timer—they cannot use their times according to their choice. All the time that they have at their disposal is utilized for these three masters.

A strange desire—a curious longing in human heart.

To seek power—to try to get the power of high office.

To lose liberty—to deprive oneself of freedom.

To seek power over others—to get influence over others by virtue of one's high office.

To lose power over a man's self—to deprive oneself of all freedom.

The rising—the promotion ; going up in power.

Is laborious—is a difficult task demanding all tact and hard work.

By pains—by hard work.

Men come to greater pains—men occupy higher positions by hard work and have to work still harder for further promotions.

And it is sometimes base—in order to rise in power and office sometimes a man has to resort to all cunning ; therefore the whole process of acquiring more power and influence becomes base.

By indignities—by practising base policies.

And by indignities men come to dignities—by practising base and clever policies men come to acquire positions of eminence.

Exp. *It is a strange desire.........men come to dignities*—These lines bear ample testimony to the shrewd understanding that Bacon had of the men and world around him. He says that it is indeed a curious yearning in the human heart

that men want to weild power only to lose all freedom, when they want to exercise influence over others, they lose all liberty of their own. They become servants to sovereign, to fame and to business. They have no time of their own ; no freedom in movements or actions. Moreover, promotions to high offices are procured with great difficulty. By hard work and manipulations men come to occupy high offices and in order to rise further they have to undergo 'greater pains'. Sometimes the efforts for promotion have to be governed by absolutely selfish motives, so the whole process becomes 'base'. But strangely enough it is by indulging in all these undignified, mean and base practices that men come to acquire positions of honour and respect.

The standing is slippery—the ground is uncertain, that is, it is difficult to rise in power from the position one already occupies. The efforts of a person may be rewarded or he may suffer a downfall.

Regress—opposite of 'progress' ; going backwards.

A downfall—to lose one's original power and influence.

An eclipse—temporary setback to one's power and influence. It is possible that the efforts of a man for higher position and power may not be rewarded. His failure will naturally undermine his authority in the eyes of others till such time as he does not go up in power.

Which is a melancholy thing—if in his attempts a man either suffers a downfall or loses his hold on other for sometime, it causes great depression to him.

Nay—not only this.

Retire men cannot when they would—men cannot retire from their office whenever they want.

Neither will they when it were reason—they will not like to retire even when they should retire ; the love of power makes them desire power for all times.

Privateness—life without office.

Impatient of privateness—do not like life without office and power.

Even in age and sickness—Even when they are old and sick.

Which require the shadow—old age and sickness demand retirement.

The shadow—retirement. It is a Latin phrase.

Though thereby they offer age to scorn—there is an appropriate time and age for everything in life. Even if in old age, the townsman continues to sit at his street door to see the happenings and doings of life, he would be laughed at. He is deliberately inviting scorn from others. Similarly to hold on to office and power, when one should retire, is to invite the scorn of others.

Scorn—contempt.

Had need to borrow other men's opinions—had to judge themselves according to the opinions of other people.

Exp. *Certainly great persons......to think themselves happy*—Great persons are so engrossed with their own business and so mad with their power that they are hardly the judge of themselves. They are, however, exposed to all public and therefore other persons can tell them better where they stand whether the office they hold is bringing them happiness and fame or not.

For if they judge by their own feeling, they cannot find it—if they judge their condition according to their own, they cannot arrive at any sound judgment because they cannot see things as they are ; their judgment is bound to be coloured by the office and power they enjoy.

That other men would fain be as they are—if other men would like to exchange places with them ; if other men would like to hold the same offices in the same circumstances.

Then they are happy—then these people should consider themselves happy.

As it were by report—because the report of so many people and their desire to occupy the same offices confirm this.

When perhaps they find the contrary within—even when their judgment about themselves may be that they are unhappy.

They be the last that find their own faults—high office and power have their own attraction. Persons who possess them are so much taken up with them and intoxicated by them that they are hardly in a position to judge their own faults.

Certainly great persons..............find their own faults—Bacon suggests in these lines that great persons occupying high offices are never in a position to judge themselves whether they are in really happy circumstances in holding that position or not. In order to arrive at a fair judgment regarding their happiness in their respective position, they should listen to what others say about the office which they occupy. If other men would gladly exchange the office with them and are prepared to work under those circumstances, it means nothing is wrong with the office and its occupant. So such people should consider themselves happy on the evidence of others even if within them the feeling may be that they are unhappy. In other words, happiness and unhappiness in a public office depends on what others think about the person who holds the office. People who occupy high offices can very well point out their griefs and unhappiness, but by the very nature of their office they are the last persons to judge about their happiness. The judgment of their happiness is always the judgment of others, for they are happy so long as they retain the confidence of those for whom they work.

Men in great fortunes—men holding high offices.

Are strangers to themselves—do not understand themselves. They are so taken up with the office and power that they have hardly any time to look inwardly and see what they are.

In the puzzle of business—occupied fully with the work of their high office.

Have no time to tend their health either of body or mind—they are so engrossed with office and power that they have

no time to look after their physical and mental health. In fact they lose all control of themselves in gaining control over others.

Death falls heavy upon him............but unknown to himself—Men who are given to power and continuously hold high offices get so much attached to them that they begin to think themselves exclusively made for high offices. So when death approaches, they fear it very much because it would cause them deprivation of power. They don't know themselves and seem to forget that each of them would shuffle off their mortal remains one day. The glamour of office and power makes them dread death—so death falls heavy on them.

In place—in an office.

There is license—there is freedom.

In place............to do good and evil—In any office it is very much in the hands of the officer to public good and to follow evil practices.

Whereof the latter is a curse—to indulge in evil practices is a curse, a kind of sin.

For in evil the best condition............not to can—If a person is given to evil, he should not aspire for a high office. If he does aspire, he should not be able to get it.

The true and lawful end of aspiring—it is a very honest and legitimate aspiration to hold a high office if one wants to do good.

Except they be put in act—only when they are acted upon.

And that cannot be............ground—good thoughts can be put in action only when a man occupies a high office and power so that he could command the respect and attention of others.

The end—the final aim ; the culmination.

Motion—activity.

Merit and good works............motion—Excellence and good deeds are the final aim of man's activities.

Conscience—feeling ; consciousness.

Accomplishment—achievement.

And conscience..............man's rest—the feeling and knowledge of the fact that one has done good deed leads to the achievement of rest in one's life.

To behold—to see.

In the discharge of thy place—in performing the duties of your office.

Set before thee—keep before you.

A globe—a collection.

Precepts—good thoughts and examples.

Imitation is a globe of precepts—by copying great thoughts and examples of the past we can frame rules for our own conduct.

After a time—after sometime.

Carried themselves ill—have not fulfilled their duties well ; failed to achieve the best.

Set off—feel important.

Taxing—condemning.

Bravery—show ; ostentation. *Scandal*—ill-achievements.

Set it down to thyself—make a point for yourself.

To create good precedents as to follow them—you must make a point for yourself that you set good examples so that those who come after you, follow them.

Precedents—examples.

Exp. *Reduce things to the first institution . . . degenerate*—whenever you occupy an office, go back to the first establishment of things, and find out what changes and reforms of the original rules are required by changed time and circumstances.

Obeserv—see ; note. *Wherein*—in what respect.

Degenerate—made corrupt ; have lost their original force and purity.

Yet ask counsel of both times—take advice from both past and present occupants of the office.

Seek—try.

Seek to make......regular—you should run your office on rules.

May know beforehand—they may know before they come to your office.

Be not too positive and peremptory—be not be very strict or hurried in following the rules laid down.

Express thyself well—argue very well ; give a clear explanation of what you do.

Digressest—move away. *Preserve*—maintain.

The right of thy place—the rules and dignity of your office.

Stir not questions of jurisdiction—do not unnecessarily raise questions of the scope of your rules.

And rather......assume...and de facto—instead of raising and discussing questions of jurisdiction, it is best to take for granted the sanctity of the rules of your office.

De facto—by virtue of their fact.

Voice it—argue it ; claim it.

Voice it with claims and challenges—it serves no purpose to argue and claim the rules of your office by all kinds of loud arguments.

The rights of inferior places—the rules of your subordinates.

To direct in chief than to be busy in all—to give directions in main matters and not to interfere in all things.

Embrace—accept.

Touching—concerning ; regarding.

The execution of thy place—regarding the conduct of your office.

Drive away—turn away.

Such as—those persons.

Meddlers—those who meddle in the affairs of others.

But accept of them in good part—do not drive these people away but accept such information from them as is useful.

Corruption—illegal practices. Roughness : rude behaviour.

Facility—easily worked upon ; easily excitable.

Give easy access—make yourself available without difficulty.

Go through with that—perform.

Interlace—mix up with.

But of necessity—unless you are compelled.

For corruption—As regards corruption.

Bind thine own hands—restrict yourself ; put checks on yourself.

Suitors—petitioners. *Used*—practised.

Integrity—honesty. *Professed*—preached.

Manifest—clear ; obvious.

Detestation—hatred.

The fault—the fault of bribery and corruption.

Variable—shifty ; vascillating.

Manifest cause—Obvious cause.

Profess—express.

Move—inspire.

To steal it—to conceal it ; to hide it.

Inward—close ; intimate.

Discontent—dissatisfaction.

Severity—strictness. *Breeded*—causes.

Reproofs—censure ; words of criticism.

To be grave—to be made in all seriousness.

Idle respects—unnecessary considerations.

He shall never be without—he shall not like to live in life without importunity and idle respect.

Transgress—break a rule.

For a piece of bread—for little bribery.

A place sheweth the man—you come to know the man, whether he is moral or mean, when he occupies an office.

Vespasian—a Roman emperor.

Sufficiency—ability to rule.

Assured—definite. *Spirit*—person.

Whom honour demands—if the honour of a high office brings about improvement in a man, it means he possesses noble mind.

Honour—high office.

As in nature things............in their place—things in nature move to their appropriate positions both violently and peacefully.

So virtue in ambition.........settled and calm—in an ambitious man virtue of office takes a violent form ; in a man of authority, the virtue is accepted in a natural and calm manner.

Rising to a great place—promotion to a high office.

By a winding stair—by all sorts of involved methods.

Factions—parties and conflicts.

To side a man's self whilst he is in rising—to support and favour a man who is rising in power and influence.

To balance himself—to be neutral.

When he is placed—when he has occupied the high office.

Exclude—keep them aloof.

Remembering—mindful, particular.

Of thy place—of your office and power.

When he sits in place—when he is performing the duties of his office.

Exp. *Be not too sensible......another man*—A person should not be very conscious of his official position in his private or personal conversation. He should take it easily and gracefully. When he, however, discharges his duty he should be particular about all details, so that people might say that he is a different person when he is in office.

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6. OF NOBILITY

We will speak of nobility first as a portion of an estate; then as a condition of particular persons. A monarchy, where there is no nobility at all, is ever a pure and absolute tyranny, as that of the Turks; for nobility attempers sovereignty, and draws the eyes of the people somewhat aside from the line royal. But for democracies, they need it not; and they are commonly more quiet and less subject to sedition than where there are stirps of nobles; for men's eyes are upon the business, and not upon the persons; or if upon the persons, it is for the business' sake, as fittest, and not for flags and pedigree. We see the Switzers last well, notwithstanding their diversity of religion and of cantons; for utility is their bond, and not respects. The United Provinces of the Low Countries in their government excel; for where there is an equality the consultations are more indifferent, and the payments and tributes more cheerful. A great and potent nobility addeth majesty to a monarch, but diminisheth power; and putteth life and spirit into the people, but presseth their fortune. It is well when nobles are not too great for sovereignty nor for justice; and yet maintained in that height, as the insolency of inferiors may be broken upon them before it come on too fast upon the majesty of kings. A numerous nobility causeth poverty and inconvenience in a state, for it is a surcharge of expense; and besides, it being of necessity that many of the nobility fall in time to be weak in fortune, it maketh a kind of disproportion between honour and means.

As for nobility in particular persons; it is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building

not in decay, or to see a fair timber-tree sound and perfect ; how much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time : for new nobility is but the act of power, but ancient nobility is the act of time. Those that are first raised to nobility are commonly more virtuous but less innocent than their descendants ; for there is rarely rising but by a commixture of good and evil arts ; but it is reason the memory of their virtues remain to their posterity and their faults die with themselves. Nobility of birth commonly abateth industry ; and he that is not industrious envieth him that is. Besides, noble persons cannot go much higher ; and he that standeth at a stay when others rise can hardly avoid motions of envy. On the other side, nobility extinguisheth the passive envy from others towards them, because they are in possession of honour. Certainly kings that have able men of their nobility shall find ease in employing them, and a better slide into their business; for people naturally bend to them as born in some sort to command.

Notes and Explanations.

Portion—part.

Estate—state ; govenment.

Tyrancy—despotic and cruel rule or use of power.

Attempers—tempers ; moderates.

Nobility—class of nobles sharing government with a courtiers.

For nobility attempers......liner royal—The power of nobles checks the monarch from becoming a tyrant. The people too are not so jealous of royal power which is shared by the nobles ; hence the danger of popular revolt against the king is diminished or eliminated.

Sedition—rebellion ; agitation against authority.

Strips—families.

But for democracies......Nobles—A class of nobles is not necessary in a democratic form of government. There is greater peace and order in a democratic state than in a government of nobles which is more amenable to people's agitation and discontent.

Flags—feathers ; insignia or honour ; rank.

Pedigree—good, noble birth or descent.

For men's eyes.....pedigree—In democracies people care for and heed the quality or efficiency of administration and not the officials. Even when persons are to be considered for employment, it is their fitness or merit that counts and not their rank, honour or birth.

Switzers last well—they have had a stable government and have seen no revolt or sedition.

Canton—state of Swiss confederation.

For utility......respects—the good of the people is their common bond of unity and not the rank or respect of personalities. They count upon principles rather than persons.

Equality—no distinction of high or low ; everybody has equal rights.

Consulations—public opinions and discussions of state policies.

Indifferent—impartial ; disinterested.

Payments and tributes more cheerful—people pay taxes and dues with pleasure for the money thus collected is spent on the welfare of the state and the public.

But presseth their fortune—proves a burden on the purse of the people.

Too great for sovereignty or justice—the nobles should not become so powerful as to endanger the position of the king or prove a threat to justice in the state.

Yet maintained......majesty of kings—The power and high position of the nobles in the state is necessary so that they may bear the brunt of attack by low and inferior

persons and save the august person of the king from direct assault or fury.

Of necessity—necessary.

Week in fortune—poor.

Disproportion—discrepancy ; difference.

Honour and means or rank and monetary condition are greatly inconsistent with each other. The nobles are high in rank and birth but low in means.

Reverend—venerable : respectable ; eliciting or compelling reverence.

Not in decay—in a state of grandeur or glory.

How much more......time—an old castle or mansion of some noble elicits reverence and admiration from a beholder but an old noble family that survived the buffets and storms of time commands still more reverence from the on-looker.

New nobility......time—some people rise from low to high position and rank and become nobles by sheer dint of power and merit. But old nobility is the product of time. They inherit their rank from their fore-fathers and are nobles by birth.

First raised to nobility—are new nobles being raised through power and worth. *Virtuous*—possessing good qualities, merits or worth.

Less innocent—because they rise by all means fair or foul.

Reason—reasonable, just, proper.

Posterity—descendants ; future or coming generations.

Abateth—lessens ; makes less prone or inclined to.

Industry—labour, hard work.

Standeth at a stay—stands still ; makes no progress ; does not rise in life.

Motions of envy—emotions of jealousy, *i.e.*, jealousy moves or affects his mind.

Extinguisheth—suppresses ; dispels.

Passive—not active or keen ; casual.

In posession of honour—Due to high birth nobles of ancient good families command respect from the people and they are so used to reverence that envy has no place in their hearts, for honour and envy for the same man cannot exist together.

A better slide into their business—They (kings) will find their business (administration) running smoothly ; there will be no obstacles in the path of Government.

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7. OF SUPERSTITION

It were better to have no opinion of God at all than such an opinion as is unworthy of him; for the one is unbelief, the other is contumely: and certainly superstition is the reproach of the Deity. Plutarch saith well to that purpose: *Surely,* saith he, *I had rather a great deal men should say there was no such man at all as Plutarch, than that they should say that there was one Plutarch that would eat his children as soon as they were born,* as the poets speak of Saturn. And, as the contumely is greater towards God, so the danger is greater towards men. Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation: all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not; but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men. Therefore atheism did never perturb states; for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no further: and we see the times inclined to atheism (as the time of Augustus Caesar) were civil times. But superstition hath been the confusion of many states, and bringeth in a new *primum mobile* that ravisheth all the spheres of government. The master of superstition is the people; and in all superstition wise men follow fools; and arguments are fitted to practice in a reversed order. It was gravely said by some of the prelates in the Council of Trent, where the doctrine of the schoolmen bare great sway, *that the schoolmen were like astronomers, which did feign eccentrics and epicycles, and such engines of orbs to save the phenomena, though they knew there were no such things*: and, in like manner, that the schoolmen had framed a number of subtile and intricate axioms

and theorems, to save the practice of the Church. The causes of superstition are: pleasing and sensual rites and ceremonies; excess of outward and pharisaical holiness; overgreat reverence of traditions, which cannot but load the Church; the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre; the favouring too much of good intentions, which openeth the gate to conceits and novelties; the taking an aim at divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations; and lastly, barbarous times, especially joined with calamities and disasters. Superstition, without a veil, is a deformed thing; for as it addeth deformity to an ape to be so like a man, so the similitude of superstition to religion makes it the more deformed: and as wholesome meat corrupteth to little worms, so good forms and orders corrupt into a number of petty observances. There is a superstition in avoiding superstition, when men think to do best if they go furthest from the superstition formerly received; therefore care would be had that (as it fareth in ill purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad, which commonly is done when the people is the reformer.

Notes and Explanations :

No opinion of God—disbelief or atheism.

Profanity or impious conception of God or wrong conception of the true doctrines, *i.e.*, superstition is worse than atheism.

Contumely—profanity; insolence towards or disgrace of God.

Reproach of the Diety—censure or disgrace of God.

Saturn—in Greek mythology Saturn ate his children.

I had rather......Saturn—Plutarch, a great biographer of Greek and Roman heroes, means to say that he would prefer oblivion to being branded as a monster who ate children like Saturn. He condemns superstition and false belief of mythologists.

Natural piety—natural affection.

Religion—belief in God and His dogmas.

And as the contumely......minds of men—False and wrong notion of God is more dangerous than atheism. An atheist loses his faith in God but retains his sense and reason, wisdom or right out-look on things. natural affection for creatures, respect for law and good name. He constitutes no danger to society or the state but superstition is blind and fanatic and deprives man of all sense and reason. When superstition reigns supreme in the minds of people they love all respect for authority or law and morality. Confusion prevails in the state as well as church. False prophets, imposters and heretics flourish with the support of superstitious and credulus people and gain a hold upon their perverted minds and mislead them into defiance of law and morality.

Wary of themselves—cautious about their own safety; not affecting others' interests, but minding their own business.

Civil—peaceful, civilised or polite.

Primum mobile—centre, the outer-most sphere that carries with it smaller planets in its motion.

Ravishes—carries with it in its motion.

The idea is that superstition gets the better of the state in all its spheres. Church over-ridden by superstition misoppropriates the functions of the state and usurps control of the government and hence there prevails lawlessness and confusion everywhere.

Arguments......order—superstition invents arguments to justify conduct or practice, contrary to the principles of reason which should be the basis of conduct. Here conduct comes first and reasoning afterwards. Thus fools guide and set precepts of conduct for wise men to follow.

Gravely—seriously, with weight.

Council of Trent—a meeting of prelates held in 1545 to express judgment of the Church on questions of reform and reformation.

Schoolmen—philosophy of Aristotle was applied to explain the doctrines of the Church during the Middle Ages by teachers in the schools called schoolmen. This philosophy is dubbed as Scholastic philosophy.

Feign—state, tell of.

Eccentric—a sphere or heavenly body moving in irregular orbit formed by the centres of small spheres.

Epicycle—small circle or sphere having its centre on the circumference of a larger one.

Engines of orbs—orbits devised to explain phenomena.

To save—to explain, to make consistent with.

Schoolmen were .....the church—schoolmen or philosophers of the Middle Ages (800 to 1400 A.D.) had framed certain complicated rules and axioms of logic to interpret in their own way the doctrines to the Church or principles and dogmas of the Bible, and misled the people into wrong beliefs like the astornomers who invented imaginary eccentrics and epicycles to explain the phenomena and thus wilfully deceived the people.

Sensual—appealing to the senses, charming.

Pharisaical—a sect of the Jews fond of observing the minutest Mosaic rituals and ceremonies ; hence too formal or ostentatious.

Traditions—conventions and practices inherited from olden times.

Load—burden.

Stratagems—tricks, deceitful devices.

Lucre—gain, profit.

Favouring—encouraging.

Good intentions—whatever people consider good of their own accord and not prescribed by the Scriptures. The idea is that if the Church enforces universally whatever individuals conceive to be good, then there will be no end to rules of conduct and the fundamental principles of religion will get confused and mixed up with points of good intentions.

Conceits and novelties—new and arbitrary rules or principles of conduct.

Taking an aim......human—looking at matters of religion or divinity from the view-point of human affairs.

Breed—nourish, develop.

Barbarious—savage, uncivilized. Calamities lead ignorant people to ascribe them to fate and create superstitions in their minds.

Veil—cover of religion, colour of religiosity.

Deformed—ill-looking, unpalatable.

For as it addeth ..... deformed—contrast and comparison of two similar things brings out the difference all the more clearly. An ape by himself would not look so ugly as it would in contrast with man ; similarly superstition pure and simple when compared with the truth of religion appears ugly and disgusting. It is the cover or tinge of religion that makes it acceptable.

Wholesome meat . . . . observances—just as good and fresh meat putrifies and produces worms that are harmful, similarly, good institutions and conventions become bad later when they are carried to extremes. For example, *ablution* with all its compulsion and regulation borders on superstition now, whereas in the beginning it must have been an ordinary precept or injuction for keeping cleanliness. Similarly, caste system was in the beginning a mere division of people into classes for economic reasons; but with the lapse of time it became an evil as it became a superstition wearing the garb or veil of religion.

There is a superstition . . . . reformer—sometimes there is strong reaction against a former superstition or practice and people go to the other extreme in avoiding it and in so doing they take away the good along with the bad. For example, in over-zeal for reform of religion English Reformers were so biased against Roman institutions that they abolished even some good conventions and rites just as a strong purgative medicine harms the bowels and in purging the stomach it damages the digestive system. Hence care and moderation are necessary in reform or change of old institutions because there may be some good at their root.

Fareth—happens.

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8. OF TRAVEL

Travel, in the younger sort, is a part of education; in the elder, a part of experience. He that travelleth into a country before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel. That young men travel under some tutor or grave servant, I allow well; so that he be such a one that hath the language, and hath been in the country before; whereby he may be able to tell them what things are worthy to be seen in the country where they go, what acquaintances they are to seek, what exercises or discipline the place yieldeth; for else young men shall go hooded, and look abroad little. It is a strange thing, that in sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men should make diaries; but in land travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it; as if chance were fitter to be registered than observation. Let diaries, therefore, be brought in use. The things to be seen and observed are: the courts of princes, especially when they give audience to ambassadors: the courts of justice, while they sit and hear causes; and so of consistories ecclesiastic: the churches and monasteries, with the monuments which are therein extant: the walls and fortifications of cities and towns and so the havens and harbours: antiquities, and ruins: libraries; colleges, disputations, and lectures, where any are: shipping and navies: houses, and gardens of state, and pleasure, near great cities: armories: arsenals: magazines: exchanges: burses; warehouses: exercises of horsemanship; fencing; training of soldiers, and the like: comedies, such whereunto the better sort of persons do resort; treasuries of jewels and robes; cabinets

and rarities: and, to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the places where they go; after all which the tutors or servants ought to make diligent inquiry. As for triumphs, masques, feasts, weddings, funerals capital executions, and such shows, men need not to be put in mind of them: yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a young man to put his travel into a little room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do. First, as was said, he must have some entrance into the language before he goeth. Then he must have such a servant or tutor as knoweth the country, as was likewise said. Let him carry with him also some card or book describing the country where he travelleth, which will be a good key to his inquiry. Let him keep also a diary. Let him not stay long in one city or town, more or less as the place deserveth, but not long; nay, when he stayeth in one city or town, let him change his lodging from one end and part of the town to another, which is a great adamant of acquaintance. Let him sequester himself from the company of his countrymen, and diet in such places where there is good company of the nation where he travelleth. Let him, upon his removes from one place to another, procure recommendation to some person of quality residing in the place whither he removeth, that he may use his favour in those things he desireth to see or know. Thus he may abridge his travel, with much profit. As for the acquaintance which is to be sought in travel, that which is most of all profitable, is acquaintance with the secretaries and employed men of ambassadors; for so in travelling in one country he shall suck the experience of many. Let him also see and visit eminent persons in all kinds, which are of great name abroad, that he may be able to tell how the life agreeth with the fame. For quarrels, they are with care and discretion to be avoided; they are commonly for mistresses, healths, place, and words. And let a man beware how he keepeth company with choleric and quarrelsome

persons; for they will engage him into their own quarrels. When a traveller returneth home, let him not leave the countries where he hath travelled altogether behind him, but maintain a correspondence by letters with those of his acquaintance which are of most worth. And let his travel appear rather in his discourse than in his apparel or gesture : and in his discourse let him be rather advised in his answers, than forwards to tell stories: and let it appear that he doth not change his country manners for those of foreign parts; but only prick in some flowers of that he hath learned abroad into the customs of his own country.

Notes and Explanations :

In the younger sort—for the young.

In the elder—for elderly people.

Travel, in the younger sort........ part of experience—when young people travel from place to place, it adds to their information and widens their mental horizons ; so travelling is education for them. For elderly people. the more they travel, the more they see and are in a better position to evaluate life ; so travelling adds to their experience.

He hath some entrance into the language—has received some knowledge of the language.

Exp. *He that travelleth......and not to travel*—A person who goes about to travel in a country without knowing its language, comes in contract with many people and picks it up. He does not have much chance to go around because of the language handicap ; he spents much time in learning the language in order to converse with people around him. So he goes to learn rather than to travel.

Grave servant—reliable servant.

I allow—I approve ; I completely agree to.

That hath the language—one who knows the language.

Acquaintances—friendships.

They are to seek—what friends they should meet.

What exercises or discipline the place yieldeth—what types of experiences and manners can be learnt from that country.

Hooded—under the protection and care of.

And look abroad little—if they go under the protection of an inexperienced tutor or servant, they will have little chance to see things in the other country.

Men should make diaries—they should record their experiences and observations in diaries.

Omit—ignore ; neglect.

As if chance were fitter to be registered than observation—they seem to think that it is perfectly all right to write about things which they come across by chance rather than write about things which they go to see deliberately.

Let diaries...... ..in use—diaries should be kept when men go for land-travel.

When they give audience to ambassadors—when they receive ambassadors from other lands. The ceremony and culture of the moment is worth seeing.

Causes—cases.

Consistories—senate composed of Pope and Cardinal.

Ecclesiastic—religious.

Consistories ecclesiastic—religious senates in which Pope and Cardinals sit and deliberate on religious matters.

Monasteries—places where monks and nuns live.

Monuments—historically great buildings, statues, etc.

Therein—in them.

Extant—still existing ; not yet dead.

Fortification—boundaries raised around a city for protection ; forts.

Antiquities and ruins—ancient monuments.

Disputations—great intellectual discussion. In ancient times it was essential for a university degree to argue for or against a thesis. And it was called a 'disputation.'

Of state—grand ; magnificent.

Armories—where arms and weapons are kept.

Arsenal—public establishment for manufacture of weapons and amunition.

Magazines—stores of any kind maintained by the state.

Exchanges—places where money transactions take place.

Burses –French word for the exchange.

Exchanges and burses—places of exchange.

Warehouses—buildings in which goods are stored.

Fencing—exercises of the sword.

Whereunto—where.

The better sort of person, do resort—where persons of refinement and culture go.

Robes—stately dresses.

Rarities—rare things.

Deligent inquiry—careful and painstaking study.

Triumphs and masks—dramatic performances.

To put his travel into a little room—when his travel has confined to a small area.

Card—chart.

Good key to his inquiry—good source to learn about things.

Nay—not only this.

Adamant—source of attraction ; magnet.

Which is a great adamant of acquaintance—by changing lodgings from one part of the town to another, a man is able to attract many acquaintances.

Sequester—keep away.

Diet—take his meals.

His removes—upon his changing places.

Procure—get.

Some persons of quality—some eminent persons.

Use his favour—use his influence.

Abridge—shorten.

Employed men—private secretaries.

He shall suck the experience of many—he shall derive the experience of many lands.

In all kinds—in all fields.

Which are of great name abroad—who are very famous in foreign lands.

How the life agreeth with the fame—so that he may find out how the famous man leads his life ; whether his life is as good as his fame.

Discretion—judgment ; wisdom.

To be avoided—to be eschewed ; to keep away from.

Healths—toasts. *Place*—order of seniority, precedence.

Words—accusing and insulting words.

They are commonly for mistresses.........words—quarrels generally take place on the question of mistresses or toasts or order of precedence or insulting words.

Beware—be careful. *Chloric*—short-tempered.

Engage him into—involve him in.

Let him not leave.........behind him—let him not altogether forget the countries he has travelled.

Which are of most worth—who are of great fame and importance.

And let his travel appear rather in his discourse than in his apparel or gesture—he should let others know about his improved knowledge and experience by travel through his conversation rather than through his dress or gestures.

Discourse—conversation. *Apparel*—dress.

Gesture—physical movements.

Advised—thoughtful.

Forward—eager.

And let it appear.........foreign parts—as a result of travelling to foreign lands a man should not change his native manners by manners of foreign people. He should remain his natural self.

Prick in—plant ; establish

Some flowers—some good manners.

Exp. *But only prick in......customs of his own country*—as a result of travelling a man learns the ways and manners of other lands. He should not change his own native ways in imitation of those of foreign lands ; instead he should establish some good customs and practices of other lands into his own.

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9. OF COUNSEL

The greatest trust between man and man is the trust of giving counsel. For in other confidences men commit the parts of life; their lands, their goods, their children, their credit, some particular affair; but to such as they make their counsellors they commit the whole: by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest princes need not think it any diminution to their greatness, or derogation to their sufficiency, to rely upon counsel. God himself is not without, but hath made it one of the great names of his blessed Son, *The Counsellor*. Salomon hath pronounced that *in counsel is stability*. Things will have their first or second agitation: if they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune, and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. Salomon's son found the force of counsel, as his father saw the necessity of it: for the beloved kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill counsel; upon which counsel there are set for our instruction the two marks whereby bad counsel is for ever best discerned, that it was young counsel for the persons, and violent counsel for the matter.

The ancient times do set forth in figure both the incorporation and inseparable conjunction of counsel with Kings, and the wise and politic use of counsel by Kings: the one, in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis, which signifieth counsel, whereby they intend that sovereignty is married to counsel; the other, in that which followeth, which was thus: they say, after Jupiter was married to Metis, she

conceived by him and was with child; but Jupiter suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but eat her up; whereby he became himself with child, and was delivered of Pallas armed, out of his head. Which monstrous fable containeth a secret of empire, how Kings are to make use of their counsel of state: that first, they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the first begetting or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the womb of their council, and grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their council to go through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended on them; but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the world, that the decrees and final directions (which because they come forth with prudence and power, are resembled to Pallas armed), proceeded from themselves; and not only from their authority, but (the more to add reputation to themselves) from their head and device.

Let us now speak of the inconveniences of counsel, and of the remedies. The inconveniences that have been noted in calling and using counsel, are three: first, the revealing of affairs, whereby they become less secret; secondly, the weakening of the authority of princes, as if they were less of themselves; thirdly the danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel than of him that is counselled. For which inconveniences, the doctrine of Italy, and practice of France in some Kings' times, hath introduced cabinet counsels; a remedy worse than the disease.

As to secrecy; princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all counsellors, but may extract and select. Neither is it necessary that he that consulteth what he should do, should declare what he will do. But let princes beware that the unsecreting of their affairs comes not from themselves. And as for cabinet counsels, it may be their motto, *Plenus rimarum sum*: one futile person,

that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many, that know it their duty to conceal. It is true there be some affairs, which require extreme secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons besides the King: neither are those counsels unprosperous; for, besides the secrecy, they commonly go on constantly in one spirit of direction without distraction. But then it must be a prudent King, such as is able to grind with a handmill ; and those inward counsellors had need also be wise men, and especially true and trusty to the King's ends ; as it was with King Henry the Seventh of England, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton and Fox.

For weakening of authority ; the fable showeth the remedy. Nay, the majesty of Kings is rather exalted than diminished when they are in the chair of counsel; neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependances by his council, except where there hath been either an overgreatness in one counsellor, or an over strict combination in divers, which are things soon found and holpen.

For the last inconvenience, that men will counsel with an eye to themselves ; certainly, *non inveniet fidem super terram* is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular persons.. There be that are in nature faithful and sincere, and plain and direct, not crafty and involved : let princes, above all, draw to themselves such natures. Besides, counsellors are not commonly so united, but that one counsellor keepeth sentinel over another ; so that if any do counsel out of faction or private ends, it commonly comes to the King's ear. But the best remedy is, if princes know their counsellors as well as their counsellors know them :

Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.

And on the other side, counsellors should not be too speculative into their sovereign's person. The true composition of a counsellor is rather to be

skilful in their master's business than in his nature; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour. It is of singular use to princes if they take the opinions of their council both separately and together; for private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverend. In private, men are more bold in their own humours; and in consort, men are more obnoxious to others' humours; therefore it is good to take both: and of the inferior sort rather in private, to preserve freedom; of the greater rather in consort, to preserve respect. It is in vain for princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counsel likewise concerning persons; for all matters are as dead images, and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons. Neither is it enough to consult concerning persons, *secundum genera*, as in an idea or mathematical description, what the kind and character of the person should be; for the greatest errors are committed, and the most judgement is shown, in the choice of individuals. It was truly said, *Optimi consiliarii mortui*; books will speak plain when counsellors blanch. Therefore it is good to be conversant in them, specially the books of such as themselves have been actors upon the stage.

The councils at this day in most places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather talked on than debated; and they run too swift to the order or act of council. It were better that in causes of weight the matter were propounded one day and not spoken to till the next day; *In nocte consilium*. So was it done in the commission of union between England and Scotland, which was a grave and orderly assembly. I commend set days for petitions; for both it gives the suitors more certainty for their attendance, and it frees the meetings for matters of estate, that they may *hoc agere*. In choice of committees for ripening business for the council, it is better to choose indifferent persons,

than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend also standing commissions ; as for trade, for treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces ; for where there be divers particular councils, and but one council of estate (as it is in Spain), they are in effect no more than standing commissions, save that they have greater authority. Let such as are to inform councils out of their particular professions (as lawyers, seamen, mintmen, and the like) be first heard before committees ; and then, as occasion serves, before the council. And let them not come in multitudes, or in a tribunitious manner ; for that is to clamour councils, not to inform them. A long table and a square table, or seats about the walls, seem things of form, but are things of substance ; for at a long table a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the business ; but in the other form there is more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower. A King, when he presides in council, let him beware how he opens his own inclination too much in that which he propoundeth ; for else counsellors will but take the wind of him, and instead of giving free counsel, sing him a song of *placebo*.

Notes and Explanations :

But to such......faith and integrity—a man keeps nothing secret from his chosen counsellor in whom he places his full trust. If the counsellor is trustworthy and sincere, one is bound all the more intimately to him and is completely at his mercy as he commits everything to his care.

Obliged—bound.

Diminution—loss.

Derogation—insult.

Sufficiency—ability, competence.

The wisest......upon counsel—even the wisest king needs counsellors. Seeking advice does not detract from his greatness or glory, nor does his reputation as competent ruler suffer or lower him in public esteem.

Blessed son—Christ.

Counsellor—an attribute of Christ whose advice is regarded as the counsel of perfection.

Salomon—Soloman, king of Israel, known for wisdom. He wrote many songs and collected many proverbs. He is regarded as the author of three of the books of the Old Testament.

Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the **Song of Solomon.**

In counsel is stability—as a result of counsel, things settle down and become stable and firmly established.

Agitation—being tossed about or discussed from every aspect.

Inconstancy—inconsistency.

Reeling—staggering, walking unsteadily.

Things will......drunken man—if matters are not discussed with wise counsellors, they will go amiss sometimes improving end again deteriorating at the hands of chance, unsteady and inconsistent like a staggering drunkard. Wise counsel imparts consistency and stability to things after threadbare analysis.

Salomon's son—Rehoboam who acting on the foolish advice of his young inexperienced councillors tried to rule with undue severity ; the natural result was popular revolt and loss of kingdom.

Force of counsel—the far reaching effect of the ill advice of councillors.

The beloved kingdom of God—the Jewish kingdom.

Instruction—guidance ; direction.

Discerned—recognised, distinguished, understood.

Young counsel—advice given by young inexperienced people.

Violent counsel—advice for violence, severity and tyranny.

Upon which counsel......for the matter—bad counsel which brought revolt and ruin for Solomon's son has left a lesson for posterity. It has made us understand that bad advice bears two distinctive marks for our guidance :

1. Bad advice is young advice, *i.e.*, offered by young headed and inexperienced man.
2. Bad advice is an instigation or incitemeut to violence and cruelty.

In corporation and inseparable conjuncion......by kings—since ancient times stress has ever been laid on the necessity of counsel for kings. Counsel is indispensable for a king, or counsel and kingship are inseparable. It has also been enjoined upon kings to scrutinize the advice and profit by it wisely and tactfully.

Set forth in figure—describe metaphorically or figuratively.

Jupiter—king of gods ; here stands for kingship.

Metic—goddess standing for counsel.

Sovereignty......counsel—counsellors or advisors are life-long companions of a king. He can not afford to dispense with them.

She conceived by him—matters were referred by the king to the counsellors for consideration.

Was with child—matters were being tackled and pondered over.

But Jupiter......ate her up—when matters had taken shape and were ready for implementation, the king took them back and shelved them for the time being and reserved them for personal consideration.

He himself......out of his head—then the king thoroughly examined the pros and cons of the matters and the advice of the counsellors thereon and gave them his own final touches and issued his orders and directions with wisdom and authority as if he had acted of his own free will.

Pallas—goddess of wisdom and power ; here it implies the prudence and authority of the king.

Monstrous fable—story of Jupiter, Metis and Pallas.

Womb of counsel—brains or heads of the advisors.

Resolution and direction—determination and instruction of the counsellors.

And not only......device—that kings want to show that they not only have the power to enforce decisions but also their decisions on matters are the result of their own deliberation and tact.

Inconvenience—difficulty, disadvantage, trouble.

Less of themselves—incompetent by themselves, not equal to the task of government without the help of counsellors.

For the good of them that counsel—for the good of the counsellors themselves; for personal benefits of the advisors.

Good of him that is counselled—for the good of the king.

Doctrine—teaching, precept.

Practice—convention.

Cabinet council—secret consisting of favourites.

Remedy worse than the disease—the practice of cabinet council is no remedy for the troubles arising from counsellors because the cabinet consists of favourites who by flattery and affection gain control over the king like a mistress and weaken his authority.

But may extract and select—the kings are well advised to select some matters or parts thereof for consultation thereon with some tried and trusted counsellors. They should not divulge every matter to every advisor. They should learn to exercise restraint and secrecy where and when necessary.

Unsecreting—disclosure, revealing.

Chink—peep-hole, slit

Full of chinks—the Cabinet or secret council should be considered leaky and untrustworthy as some member of the cabinet may serve as a chink or peep-hole for the disclosure of the king's secrets.

Futile—talkative, leaky.

One futile......conceal—a foolish talkative counsellor who takes pride in being a confidant of the king and talks out secrets is more dangerous and harmful than several advisors who think it their duty to conceal secrets.

Unprosperous—unfruitful, useless ; harmful.

In one spirit of direction—actuated by the same spirit of guidance or similarity of aim.

Distraction—confusion of mind or attention ; interruption, dissension.

Neither are......distraction—when the king confides to only one or two trustworthy persons, their advice is fruitful, secrecy is maintained, and the counsels are directed into one channel towards the goal without any let or hindrance.

Able to grind......hand-mill—able to manage his own affairs ; strong to carry on by himself.

Inward—intimate ; confidant.

Imparted—communicated his intentions or secrets, confided to ; reposed confidence in.

Morton—Bishop of Ely.

Fox—Bishop of Exter.

These two Bishops were trusted confidents of King Henry VII and kept vigilance and watch over all men of note and concern.

The fable sheweth the remedy—the fable of Jupiter, Metis and Pallas illustrates the way how a wise king makes use of councel and takes all credit of the counsellors' wisdom and foresight.

Dependence—dependants.

Bereaved—deprived.

Over-strict combination in divers—too strong conspiracy among different counsellors united against the king.

Holpen—remedied.

The idea is that the king's position is at stake when some counsellor becomes powerful and wins over to his side the other counsellors and noble upon whom the king

depends ; or when different counsellors unite together in a strong conspiracy against the king.

With an eye to themselves—for personal gain or profit, or self-aggrandizement.

He shall not......earth—faith or truth will have disappeared from the world when Christ comes. Faith is a rare thing. Faithlessness and selfishness are characteristics of the nature of the world as a whole and not confined to any particular persons. Inspite of all this there are exceptions and we find detect and attract such sincere, straightforward and faithful person.

Crafty—clever, crooked, cunning.

Involved—entangled ; not plain or straight in dealing.

Sentinel—watch.

Out of faction or private ends—if any counsellor talks in party spirit or for personal gain or aim, the other advisors secretly report against him to the king.

Speculative—prying, inquisitive.

Person—character or personality.

Composition—nature.

Humour—disposition ; nature.

Counsellors should not......humour—counsellors should not try to know the inner working of king's mind or probe into his secrets and intentions or his nature and disposition. Their main concern should be the state affairs about which they should offer advice. They should not overstep the bounds of a counsellor and become intimate or friendly to serve his personal whims and desires or appease his mood.

Reverend—restrained, marked by awe and reverence.

Humours—natures, moods.

Of the inferior sort......respect—the king should seek advice from inferior or nobles in private so that they may talk freely and truthfully. But he should consult upper or greater nobles in council along with others so that he may

maintain his position and majesty in their eyes. The more powerful nobles or counsellors should not be allowed freedom of access and familiarity as they are ambitious and inwordly jealous of the king.

Obnoxious—opposed to, conflicting with ; intolerable ; irritated ; influenced by.

In consort......humours—in council or company counsellors hesitate to express their opinion freely. They are influenced by the nature and moods of other counsellors for fear of opposition, rivalry or resentment.

The life of the execution.........persons—affairs are by themselves not so important. It is the persons concerned in executing these affairs that are important. The matters are like dead bodies and they come to life only when carried out skilfully by clever and wise persons. Hence the king should seek counsel not only about matters but also about the persons chosen to carry out or perform those matters

As in an idea......be—a generalization or mathematical definition speaks of the characteristics of a whole class of things. Such general statement, theorem or precept about matters and men is not sufficient for king. He should judge every individual by his personal merits and qualities.

The dead......counsellors—great counsellors and statesmen who are dead have left their valuable experience of men and matters in books. A king should consult these dead counsellors who speak freely and plainly.

Blanch—shrink keep back something ; avoid and conceal facts.

Actors upon the stage—have counsellors themselves of kings and have left record of their own counsels in books written by themselves.

Debated—duly weighed and discussed.

Act—resolution.

Run swift......council—matters are lightly treated and they hastily end in some resolution or decision.

Causes—cases ; matters.

Spoken to—discussed.

Propounded—initiated, formally laid or presented.

Union—a commission was appointed in the year 1604 for the union of England and Scotland and Bacon was a member of the Commission.

Estate—the state.

Ripening—preparing, arranging and collecting.

Indifferent—neutral ; disinterested.

Indifferency—position of neutrality or unconcern.

Strong on both sides—equal in number.

In choice of......both sides—committees must be composed of impartial and disinterested persons not belonging to party or group. Partisan spirit, specially when both the parties are equally strong, leads the committee nowhere and a stalemate is the natural result.

Standing—permanent.

Provinces—subjects ; departments of public service.

Diverse particular councils—different subordinate councils special committees.

Inform—from, shape ; set up.

Mintmen—workers in the mint.

Tribunitious—over bearing:

Glamour—shout down ; make such a din or noise as to render proceedings impossible.

Of substance—valuable, important.

Sway—gevern ; control.

Inclination—wish ; desire.

Take the wind of him—follow his lead, as a ship follows the direction of the wind ; take a clue from him to adopt a particular line of discussion.

Let him beware......song of placebo—the king in council should not hint during his inaugural speech at his own wish or desire, for it will affect the deliberations of the council and every member would try to express his opinion similar to that of the king. None would dare cross his wish, Hence their advice will not be free or sincere but restrained and prejudiced in favour of the king's personal inclination and they will cry ditto to his words. This will defeat the purpose for which the council is set up and the king will not be able to profit by the wisdom and tact of counsellors.

Sing a song of placebo—do what the king wishes ; cry ditto to please the king.

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10. OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF

An ant is a wise creature for itself, but it is a shrewd thing in an orchard or garden. And certainly men that are great lovers of themselves waste the public. Divide with reason between self-love and society; and be so true to thyself as thou be not false to others, specially to thy king and country. It is a poor centre of a man's actions, himself. It is right earth. For that only stands fast upon his own centre; whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens move upon the centre of another, which they benefit. The referring of all to a man's self is more tolerable in a sovereign prince, because themselves are not only themselves, but their good and evil is at the peril of the public fortune. But it is a desperate evil in a servant to a prince, or a citizen in a republic; for whatsoever affairs pass such a man's hands, he crooketh them to his own ends, which must needs be often eccentric to the ends of his master or state. Therefore let princes or states choose such servants as have not this mark; except they mean their service should be made but the accessary. That which maketh the effect more pernicious is that all proportion is lost. It were disproportion enough for the servant's good to be preferred before the master's; but yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the servant shall carry things against a great good of the master's. And yet that is the case of bad officers, treasurers, ambassadors, generals, and other false and corrupt servants; which set a bias upon their bowl, of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their master's great and important affairs. And for the most part the good such servants receive is after the model of their own

fortune; but the hurt they sell for that good is after the model of their master's fortune. And certainly it is the nature of extreme self-lovers, as they will set a house on fire, and it were but to roast their eggs; and yet these men many times hold credit with their masters, because their study is but to please them, and profit themselves; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their affairs.

Wisdom for a man's self is, in many branches thereof, a depraved thing. It is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it fall. It is the wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger who digged and made room for him. It is the wisdom of crocodiles, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is that those which (as Cicero says of Pompey) are *sui amantes sine rivali* are many times unfortunate; and whereas they have all their time sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune, whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned.

Notes and Explanations:

Shrewd—mischievous; malicious. Vide and compare Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* (bk. ii. 23.10) "Many are wise in their own ways that are weak for government or councils; like ants, which is a wise creature for itself, but very *hurtful* for the garden". *Cf.* the sentences—"He has a *shrewd* tongue" (malicious). He did me a shrewd turn (=damaged or ruined my prospects in life). The word is derived from Old English 'Shrew'=curse. *Cf.* "Beshrew me" common in Shakespeare.

Waste the public—injure or do harm to the State.

Divide—divide yourself. Society—the community at large.

True to thyself—follow the dictates of one's conscience or character. **So true.........as**—in such a way that.

Himself—'his own interest' (Latin translation).

Right earth—exactly like the earth, which according to the system of astronomy devised by Ptolemy (—in which Bacon believed) the sun, planets and stars revolved round the earth which was fixed at the centre. This system was generally accepted until displaced by that of Copernicus.

His own centre—its own centre. Formerly, *his* was substituted by mistake for the 'S' of the generative. Milton also used *his* instead of *its*. Originally, *his* was the neuter possessive as well as the masculine. *Affinity*—resemblance.

More......centre of another—the heavenly bodies like the planets and stars were set in a series of spheres, having the earth fixed in their common centre. The outermost of these spheres communicated its motion to the inner spheres.

The earth is self-centered, like the man who thinks that it is not his business to impart some of his wisdom to others of the community in which he lives.

A man's self—it is by the man himself that the disclosure of himself *i.e.*, his feelings, etc., is made.

At the......fortune—the fact of the sovereign (the prime mover of things in a State) being good or evil also involves the good and evil of the State. Selfish wisdom is tolerable or pardonable in a king because his welfare is merged in that of the State.

A desperate evil—an evil which is beyond a remedy, as in a subordinate who becomes biased and devoid of a sense of proportion.

Affair—"state affair" (L.T.). *Crooketh*—bends.

Eccentric to—different from (*Lit.* from the centre). The interests of the individual and those of the State clash in many respects. So they are supposed to form centres of different circles of activity. They do not, therefore, move on the same centre. *Princes and States*—Kings and States. *Mark*—characteristic.

Except they, etc.—unless they wish to employ them in a subordinate capacity as instruments having no initiative or discretionary power.

Carry things—prevail, be preferred.

A bias upon their bowl—In a game of bowls the weightage on one side makes it follow an oblique (diverging from the straight line or course on the weighted side) direction due to its lopsided from so as to make it turn in its course. The word 'bias' means both the weighted side and its effect. The 'bias' in bowling is then a weight put in the side of a bowl in order to make it describe a curve. The meaning is : self-interest is the 'bias' which turns dishonest or corrupt servants away from a straight (honest) path.

Private interests—selfish ends of their own, petty jealousies deflect the corrupt and selfish men from that path of duty, honesty and loyalty, like a bias turning the bowl from the straight line. *Envies*—desires.

After the model .... fortune—in proportion to their fortune which is but small, for their gains are insignificant compared with the great harm that they do to their selfish end.

The hurt they sell, etc.—they gain their own selfish advantage at the cost of the interests of the State.

It is......as—their nature is such that.

And—if. Set .....were—setting a house on fire for a small personal advantage.

For either respect—to gain either of these two objectives. *Respect*—consideration.

Their affairs—the business of their masters and its successful prosecution.

Crocodiles—large amphibious reptiles reputed to weep while devouring human victims (*Cf.* crocodile tears—hypocritical or feigned grief) and to moan and sigh like a man in distress in order to attract travellers near about them. *Cf.* Shakespeare : Henry VI, Act III. 1. "As the mournful crocodile with sorrow snares relenting passengers."

Cicero—(106—43 B.C.) the greatest among Roman orators (sometimes referred to English Literature at Tully.)—His works consist of writings on the art rhetoric, political and moral philosophy and on theology. He was a contem-

porary of Julius Caesar, Brutus, Cassius and Pompey. On the formation of the triumvirate, he was proscribed and put to death in 43.

Pompey—(166—48 B.C.) distinguished Roman General and Caesar's rival. He was defeated by Caesar or Pharsalia in 48 B.C. and was shortly afterwards murdered in Egypt.

Sui amantes sine rivale—(Latin) lovers of themselves without a sival. **Would**—wish to.

Self-wisdom—their ingenuity in providing for themselves.

Pinioned—clipped.

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11. OF INNOVATIONS

As the births of living creatures at first are ill-shapen, so are all innovations, which are the briths of time. Yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring honour into their family are commonly more worthy than most that succeed, so the first precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained by imitation ; for ill, to man's nature, as it stands perverted, hath a natural motion, strongest in continuance ; but good, as a forced motion, strongest at first. Surely every medicine is an innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils; for time is the greatest innovator ; and if time of course alter things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end ? It is true, that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit. And those things which have long gone together are as it were confederate within themselves ; whereas ; new things piece not so well ; but though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity. Besides, they are like strangers, more admired and less favoured. All this is true if time stood still ; which contrariwise moveth so round, that a froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation ; and they that reverence too much old times are but a scorn to the new. It were good therefore that men in their innovations would follow the example of time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly and by degrees scarce to be perceived : for otherwise, whatsoever is new is unlooked for ; and ever it mends some and pairs other ; and he that is holpen takes it for a fortune and thanks the time; and he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the author. It is good also

not to try experiments in states, except the necessity be urgent or the utility evident; and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation. And lastly, that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect; and, as the Scripture saith, *That we make a stand upon the ancient way, and then look about us, and discover what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it.*

Notes and Explanations:

Innovation—novelty; new thing, convention, idea, fashion; change.

Births—off-springs, young ones.

First precedent—first innovation or change if it be for the better, it is unsurpassed in worth.

For ill......continuance—man's evil nature has natural inclination towards what is bad and therefore a bad thing or innovation tends to deteriorate futher with the lapse of time.

Forced—not spontaneous; man is not easily and constantly inclined towards good hence it holds its own in the beginning but with the lapse of time (the good) decreases.

And if time......end—time produces changes or innovations, good as well as bad. But if bad things, institutions and conventions were allowed to continue and deteriorate unchecked by men of virtue, wisdom and fore-sight, disorder and chaos will prevail in the world. Hence change and check are necessary. Old order must change yielding place to new. Change is the law of nature.

Those things...themselves—same things which continue, become familiar and associated with other things of life and become part and parcel thereof can not be and should not be easily dismissed or rejected.

At least it is fit—at least suited to the times.

Piece not well—donot fit in with the old.

Inconformity—unsuitability ; inconsistency with the old ; not being adaptable.

Froward—preverse ; unreasoning : forced.

Turbulent—troublesome and confusing.

Froward......innovation—to-retain an old pernicious custom against the changing times is as bad as an innovation.

The new—the new age in which they live.

Uplooked for—not sought after or desired.

Whatsoever......unlooked for—people are not inclined to changes and innovations. Hence it is good that Time introduces changes quite quietly, slowly and invisibly so that they may not meet with stiff resistance at the hands of the lovers of old things (reactionaries, regressive forces).

Mends—improves ; alters ; corrects.

Pairs—impairs.

Holpen—helped.

For a wrong—takes it for a misfortune.

Imputeth it to the author—ascribes it to the innovator, lays the blame for injury or ill luck on the founder of the new institution or innovation.

Well to beware......reformation—it is necessary to be on guard that improvement or reform should be the cause of change, and not the mere desire for change should be an excuse for innovation or reform.

Held for a suspect—should be constantly watched and guarded against to judge if any good accrues from it (novelty.)

That we make a stand......walk in it—man is well advised to follow the precept of the Scripture : Have respect for old customs and institutions, examine them fully and see if they are good and useful and if necessary effect a change.

12. OF DISPATCH

Affected dispatch is one of the most dangerous things so business that can be. It is like that which the physicians call predigestion, or hasty digestion, which is sure to fill the body full of crudities and secret needs of diseases. Therefore measure not dispatch by the times of sitting, but by the advancement of the business. And as in races, it is not the large stride or high lift that makes the speed; so in business, the keeping close to the matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth dispatch. It is the care of some only to come off speedily for the time, or to contrive some false periods of business, because they may seem men of dispatch. But it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off; and business so handled at several sittings or meetings goeth commonly backward and forward in an unsteady manner. I knew a wise man that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, *Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner.*

On the other side, true dispatch is a rich thing. For time is the measure of business, as money is of wares; and business is bought at a dear hand where there is small dispatch. The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of small dispatch: *Mi venga la muerte de Spagna; Let my death come from Spain*; for then it will be sure to be long in coming.

Give good hearing to those that give the first information in business, and rather direct them in the beginning than interrupt them in the continuance of their speeches; for he that is put out of his own order will go forward and backward, and be more

tedious while he waits upon his memory than he could have been if he had gone on in his own course. But sometimes it is seen that the moderator is more troublesome than the actor.

Iterations are commonly loss of time; but there is no such gain of time as to iterate often the state of the question; for it chaseth away many a frivolous speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious speeches are as fit for dispatch as a robe or mantle with a long train is for race. Prefaces, and passages, and excusations, and other speeches of reference to the person, are great wastes of time; and though they seem to proceed of modesty, they are bravery. Yet beware of being too material when there is any impediment or obstruction in men's wills; for pre-occupation of mind ever requireth preface of speech, like a fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, order and distribution and singling out of parts is the life of dispatch; so as the distribution be not too subtile: for he that doth not divide will never enter into business; and he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearly. To choose time is to save time; and an unseasonable motion is but beating the air. There be three parts of business: the preparation; the debate, or examination; and the perfection. Whereof, if you look for dispatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceeding upon somewhat conceived in writing doth for the most part facilitate dispatch; for though it should be wholly rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of direction than an indefinite, as ashes are more generative than dust.

Notes and Explanations:

Affected dispatch—over-haste in finishing work, show of speed; over-speed.

Crudities—sour juices, undigested particles.

Dispatch—promptitude, speed of work.

To come off......time—to appear to have done much in a short time.

To contrive......business—to manage to show that the business is finished though really it is not so.

Periods of business—stages or ends of business at intervals.

Because—so that.

Abreviate by contracting—shorten work by eliminating unnecessary details.

Cutting off—reducing or ignoring a part of work.

Business so handled......manner—if owing to desire for quickly finishing a work, some point is skipped over or a part unattended and undone at a meeting, the work will not go smoothly at the next meeting and will be delayed and interrupted thus nullifying earlier dispatch.

By-word—proverb, precept.

Conclusion—finishing ; execution of business.

Wise man—probably refers to Sir Amyas Paulet whom Bacon accompanied to France in 1576.

Business is......hand......dispatch—if a business takes more time than proper, it costs dearly, and it is not worth the time spent on it.

At a dear hand—at high price or cost.

Of small dispatch—dilatory, lazy, doing things too slowly.

For he that......his memory—a speaker should not be interrupted in the middle as it will disturb his chain of thoughts and will look awkward when he stops, and tries to recollect what has slipped from his memory. His speech will be disarranged, round-about or random and tiresome.

Moderator—one who guides and controls the speaker or tempers his speech.

Actor—speaker.

Iteration—repetition, duplication of work or process.

But there is......the question—repetition is waste of time. But when a question is repeated to remind the speaker of the scope and theme of his speech, it is a gain of time because the speaker is warned again to keep to the point and not waste time in superfluous digression.

Chases away......forth—checks the speaker from making inapposite and random speech that he might have indulged in if there were no repeated warning.

Curious—subtle.

Passages—transitions from point to point, or extracts and quotations.

Excusation—apologies ; excuses.

Speeches of reference—references, words of reference to.

Modesty—moderation.

Bravery—ostentation, show.

Material—to the point, keeping to the substance.

Pre-occupation of mind—mind being already full of other ideas or prejudices.

Uuguent—ointment.

Obstruction—opposition.

Yet beware......enter—but sometimes a speaker should not confine himself to the point or come straight to the issue as the audience may be prejudiced or opposed to the point of the speaker and hence he has to preface his speech with irrelevant matter and come slowly and tactfully to his stand-point after preparing them for a mood to listen just as fomentation is necessary to heat a swelling and let the ointment enter softly.

Unseasonable—out of season, untimely.

Beating the air—fruitless endeavour.

Proceeding—proposal.

Yet that negative......indefinite—negative or adverse but definite criticism is more useful for guidance than indefinite or general remarks against a proposal, for definite criticism points to the conditions for satisfactory solution.

Ashes......dust—ashes are more fertilizing than dust as ashes like definite fruitful negative criticism are limited in quantity and produced by destruction of matter by fire, while the dust in unlimited in quantity like indefinite and general discussion which leads nowhere.

Pregnant—full of ; useful.

Generative—fertilizing, productive.

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13. OF FRIENDSHIP

It had been hard for him that spake it to have put more truth and untruth together in few words than in that speech, *Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wild beast or a god.* For it is most true, that a natural and secret hatred and aversation towards society in any man hath somewhat of the savage beast; but it is most untrue that it should have any character at all of the divine nature, except it proceed, not out of a pleasure in solitude, but out of a love and desire to sequester a man's self for a higher conversation: such as is found to have been falsely and feignedly in some of the heathen; as Epimenides the Candian, Numa the Roman, Empedocles the Sicilian, and Apollonius of Tyana; and truly and really in divers of the ancient hermits and holy fathers of the Church. But little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth. For a crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures, and talk but a tinkling cymbal, where there is no love. The Latin adage meeteth with it a little, *Magna civitas, magna solitudo*; because in a great town friends are scattered, so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighbourhoods. But we may go further, and affirm most truly, that is it a mere and miserable solitude to want true friends, without which the world is but a wilderness; and even in this sense also of solitude, whosoever in the frame of his nature and affections is unfit for friendship, he taketh it of the beast, and not from humanity.

A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fulness and swellings of the heart, which passions of all kinds do cause and induce. We know diseases of stoppings and suffocations are

the most dangerous in the body; and it is not much otherwise in the mind: you may take sarza to open the liver, steel to open the spleen, flowers of sulphur for the lungs, castoreum for the brain; but no receipt openeth the heart but a true friend, to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil shrift or confession.

It is a strange thing to observe how high a rate great kings and monarchs do set upon this fruit of friendship whereof we speak: so great, as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness. For princes, in regard of the distance of their fortune from that of their subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit, except (to make themselves capable thereof) they raise some persons to be as it were companions, and almost equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to inconvenience. The modern languages give unto such persons the name of favourites or privadoes, as if it were matter of grace or conversation. But the Roman name attaineth the true use and cause thereof, naming them *participes curarum*; for it is that which tieth the knot. And we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and passionate princes only, but by the wisest and most politic that ever reigned; who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants, whom both themselves have called friends, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner, using the word which is received between private men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey (after surnamed the Great) to that height that Pompey vaunted himself for Sylla's overmatch; for when he had carried the consulship for a friend of his, against the pursuit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, Pompey turned upon him again, and in effect bade him be quiet; *for that more men adored the sun*

rising than the sunsetting. With Julius Caesar, Decimus Brutus had obtained that interest, as he set him down in his testament for heir in remainder after his nephew; and this was the man that had power with him to draw him forth to his death: for when Caesar would have discharged the senate, in regard of some ill presages and specially a dream of Calpurnia, this man lifted him gently by the arm out of his chair, telling him he hoped he would not dismiss the senate till his wife had dreamt a better dream; and it seemeth his favour was so great, as Antonius, in a letter which is recited verbatim in one of Cicero's Philippics, calleth him *venefica, witch*; as if he had enchanted Caesar. Augustus raised Agrippa (though of mean birth) to that height, as, when he consulted with Maecenas about the marriage of his daughter Julia, Maecenas took the liberty to tell him, *that he must either marry his daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life; there was no third way, he had him so great*. With Tiberius Caesar, Sejanus had ascended to that height as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of friends. Tiberius, in a letter to him, saith, *Haec pro amicitia nostra non occultavi*; and the whole senate dedicated an altar to Friendship, as to a goddess, in respect of the great dearness of friendship between them two. The like or more was between Septimius Severus and Plautianus; for he forced his eldest son to marry the daughter of Plautianus, and would often maintain Plautianus in doing affronts to his son; and did write also in a letter to the senate by these words, *I love the man so well as I wish he may over-live me*. Now if these princes had been as a Trajan, or a Marcus Aurelius, a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of nature; but being men so wise, of such strength and severity of mind, and so extreme lovers of themselves, as all these were, it proveth most plainly that they found their own felicity (though as great as ever happened to mortal men) but as an half-piece, except they might have a

friend to make it entire; and yet, which is more, they were princes that had wives, sons, nephews; and yet all these could not supply the comfort of friendship.

It is not to be forgotten what Comineus observeth of his first master, Duke Charles the Hardy; namely, that he would communicate his secrets with none; and least of all those secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on and saith that towards his latter time *that closeness did impair and a little perish his understanding*. Surely Comineus might have made the same judgement also, if it had pleased him, of his second master, Lewis the Eleventh, whose closeness was indeed his tormentor. The parable of Pythagoras is dark but true, *Cor ne edito,—eat not the heart*. Certainly, if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to open themselves unto are cannibals of their own hearts. But one thing is most admirable (wherewith I will conclude this first fruit of friendship), which is, that this communicating of a man's self to his friend works two contrary effects; for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in halves. For there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more; and no man that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less. So that it is, in truth of operation upon a man's mind, of like virtue as the alchymists used to attribute to their stone for man's body, that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the good and benefit of nature. But yet, without praying in aid of alchymists, there is a manifest image of this in the ordinary course of nature. For, in bodies, union strengtheneth and cherisheth any natural action, and, on the other side, weakeneth and dulleth any violent impression; and even so is it of minds.

The second fruit of friendship is healthful and sovereign for the understanding, as the first is for the affections. For friendship maketh indeed a fair

day in the affections from storm and tempests, but it maketh daylight in the understanding, out of darkness and confusion of thoughts. Neither is this to be understood only of faithful counsel, which a man receiveth from his friend ; but before you come to that, certain it is that whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up in the communicating and discoursing with another ; he tosseth his thoughts more easily ; he marshalleth them more orderly ; he seeth how they look when they are turned into words; finally, he waxeth wiser than himself ; and that more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation. It was well said by Themistocles to the king of Persia, *That speech was like cloth of Arras opened and put abroad ; whereby the imagery doth appear in figure ; whereas in thoughts they lie but as in packs.* Neither is this second fruit of friendship, in opening the understanding, restrained only to such friends as are able to give a man counsel; (they indeed are best) ; but even without that a man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own thoughts to light, and whetteth his wits as against a stone which itself cuts not. In a word, a man were better relate himself to a statua or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother.

Add now, to make this second fruit of friendship complete, that other point which lieth more open, and falleth within vulgar observation; which is faithful counsel from a friend. Heraclitus saith well in one of his enigmas, *Dry light is ever the best.* And certain it is that the light that a man receiveth by counsel from another is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own understanding and judgement; which is ever infused and drenched in his affections and customs. So as there is as much difference between the counsel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as their is between the counsel of a friend and of a

flatterer ; for there is no such flatterer as is a man's self, and there is no such remedy against flattery of a man's self as the liberty of a friend. Counsel is of two sorts ; the one concerning manners, the other concerning business. For the first, the best preservative to keep the mind in health is the faithful admonition of a friend. The calling of a man's self to a strict account is a medicine sometimes too piercing and corrosive. Reading good books of morality is a little flat and dead. Observing our faults in others is sometimes unproper for our case. But the best receipt (best, I say, to work, and best to take) is the admonition of a friend. It is a strange thing to behold what gross errors and extreme absurdities many (especially of the greater sort) do commit for want of a friend to tell them of them, to the great damage both of their fame and fortune : for, as St. James saith, they are as men *that look sometimes into a glass, and presently forget their own shape and favour*. As for business, a man may think, if he will, that two eyes see no more than one ; or that a gamester seeth always more than a looker-on ; or that a man in anger is as wise as he that hath said over the four and twenty letters; or that a musket may be shot off as well upon the arm as upon a rest ; and such other fond and high imaginations, to think himself all in all. But when all is done, the help of good counsel is that which setteth business straight. And if any man think that he will take counsel, but it shall be by pieces, asking counsel in one business of one man, and in another business of another man, it is well (that is to say, better perhaps than if he asked none at all) ; but he runneth two dangers: one, that he shall not be faithfully counselled ; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counsel given but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends which he hath that giveth it: the other, that he shall have counsel given hurtful and unsafe (though with good meaning),

and mixed partly of mischief and partly of remedy; even as if you would call a physician, that is thought good for the cure of the disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body; and therefore may put you in a way for a present cure, but overthroweth your health in some other kind, and so cure the disease and kill the patient. But a friend that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate will beware, by furthering any present business, how he dasheth upon other inconvenience. And therefore rest not upon scattered counsels; they will rather distract and mislead than settle and direct.

After these two noble fruits of friendship (peace in the affections, and support of the judgement) followeth the last fruit, which is like the pomegranate, full of many kernels; I mean aid, and bearing a part, in all actions and occasions. Here the best way to represent to life the manifold use of friendship is to cast and see how many things there are which a man cannot do himself; and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients to say, *that a friend is another himself*: for that a friend is far more than himself. Men have their time, and die many times in desire of some things which they principally take to heart; the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend, he may rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him; so that a man hath, as it were, two lives in his desires. A man hath a body, and that body is confined to a place; but where friendship is, all offices of life are as it were granted to him and his deputy; for he may exercise them by his friend. How many things are there which a man cannot, with any face or comeliness, say or do himself? A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them: a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate or beg: and a number of the like. But all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own.

So again, a man's person hath many proper relations which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to his son but as a father; to his wife but as a husband ; to his enemy but upon terms: whereas a friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth with the person. But to enumerate these things were endless : I have given the rule where a man cannot fitly play his own part : if he have not a friend, he may quit the s tage.

Notes and Explanations :

It had been hard for him—it must have been very difficult for him.

That spake it—who said it.

Whosoever is delighted in solitude is either a wild beast or a god—a person who takes pleasure in keeping himself lonely is either a wild animal or a god. The reason is that in solitude a person either develops wick thoughts or thinks inwardly to cherish noble thoughts. This sentence is quoted from Aristotle's "Politics."

Aversation—dislike ; aversion.

A natural and secret hatred and aversation towards society in any man—if a man has developed hatred and contempt towards society.

Hath somewhat of a savage beast—has something in him of the characteristics of a wild beast.

Any character at all of the divine nature—any qualities associated with God.

Proceed—come from.

To sequester—to keep away ; to withdraw.

To sequester a man's self for a higher conversation—a man may keep himself aloof from the common people with a desire for leading an elevated life.

Conversation—way of life.

Exp. *Except it proceed......higher conversation*—divine qualities may develop in a man, not from his love of solitude, but from a real and strong desire to withdraw himself from the world in order to lead a higher life.

Falsely and feignedly—in a false and insincere manner; for show only.

The heathens—non-christians ; those who don't follow christianity.

Epimenides—he was a sage and poet of crete and lived in 6th century B. C. It is said of him that he fell asleep while a boy and woke up after fifty-seven years.

Numa—He was the second king of Rome who retired into a cave where he received instruction from the Nymph Egeria.

Empedocles the sicilian—the wise king of sicily.

Apollonius—he was a sage who worked miralces and lived in the first century A. D.

In divers of the ancient hermits—in different types of old sages,

Exp. *As Epimenides......Apollonius of Tyana*—all these famous men were heathans and they were fond of solitude ; but their love of solitude was false and a mere pretence. It did not lead to the divine nature in them.

And truly and really......fathers of the church—the old sages and holy fathers of the church had a sincere longing for solitude, and it led to divine qualities in them.

Perceive—realize ; feel.

But little do men perceive what solitude is—Most men fail to understand the real nature and character of solitude.

And how far it extendeth—to what limits it can be found in life.

For a crowd is not company—we do not exchange our ideas and feelings with a crowd ; so it can hardly be called a companion.

And faces are but a gallery of pictures—if there is no feeling of love towards men whom you meet, then their faces are as good as faces in a picture gallery ; there is no living participation in their life.

Talk but a tinkling cymbal—with such men conversation is merely making sounds just as are produced by a cymbal ; there is no feeling of personal contact.

Adage—proverb ; saying.

Meeteth with it a little—points out very little regarding the extent of solitude.

Scattered—spread over a large area.

Less neighbourhoods—small cities with friends living close together.

Exp. *But little do men perceive.........there is no love*—solitude does not simply mean keeping oneself away. In fact very few people understand the real nature and character of solitude. Most often they fail to understand that it can be met with in unlimited places and on numerous occasion in life. For example when there is no love between a man and the rest of the crowd, he is really in solitude because the crowd does not form any company for him. Similarly the living faces around him are simply as good as painted faces in a picture gallery. His conversation carries only as much significance as sounds from a cymbal. In other words Bacon suggests in these lines that solitude is not one simple state of human mind ; it is experienced by men in various spheres of life and on various occasions.

Affirm—confirm ; say positively.

A mere and miserable solitude— a very sad and unhappy state of solitude.

To want true friends—to lack true friends.

That it is a mere .....true friends—if a man has no real and good friends, he suffers from a very sad and unhappy state of solitude.

Without which—without good friends.

World is but a wilderness—the whole world is just like a desert.

In the frame of his nature and affections—according to the nature and inclinations.

He taketh it of the beast—he has the characteristics of a beast.

And not from humanity—he does not share the qualities of human beings.

Exp. *And even in this sense also of solitude......not from humanity*—when a man has no friends, he suffers from a terrible sense of solitude. But if a man is unfit for friendship because of his nature and tendencies, it means he has something of the animal nature in him rather than human qualities.

Principal fruit—main advantage.

The ease—feeling of comfort.

Discharge—to express ; to open out.

The fulness and swellings of the heart—the agitations, anxieties, disturbances and worries of human life.

Induce—produce.

Exp. *A principal fruit......cause and induce*—The main advantage of friendship is that one can feel comfortable and easy after pouring out one's worries and problems before the sympathetic ears and heart of a friend. These 'fulness and swellings' of the heart are caused by many kinds of passions which human is given to.

Otherwise—different.

Saraza—sarsaparilla, a medicinal drink.

To open the liver—to make the liver function well.

But no receipt openeth the heart, but a true friend—but no such prescription can bring ease and relief to the heart except a friend.

To whome you may griefs, etc.—the friend before whom you can express your inner feelings and sentiments.

Whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it—whatever causes unhappiness and uneasiness to you.

Civil shrift or confession—confession made in your personal capacity as against confessions made before a priest by penitents.

How high a rate—what great value.

How high a rate......we speak—Great kings and monarchs attach great importance to friendship because of its being a receipt to open the heart.

As they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness—the kings and monarchs lighten the burden of their heart by pouring out their 'fulness and swellings' before their friends. These friends thus come to know many secrets which put the life of the king and the security of the state to danger.

In regard of the distance of their fortune—as regards the vast difference in their wealth.

Cannot gather this fruit—cannot have this advantage of friendship.

Sorteth to inconvenience—cause trouble.

The modern languages......of favourites—such persons as begin to enjoy the confidence of the princes are called in the modern language 'favourites' of the princes or a private and confidential counsellor chosen by the king out of personal affection.

Privadoers—close friends.

Shares of their cares—instead of being called 'favourites' such persons were called 'shares of their cares' by Roman Emperors. The title was first given by Emperor Tiberius to his minister Sejamus.

Politics—wise.

L. Sylla—he was elected perpetual dictator B. C. 82 but resigned power B. C. 79.

To that height—to such a height.

Pompey—Pompey the great known for his famous Spanish victories ; a favourite with Sylla.

Vaunted—boasted.

Sylla's over-match—superior to Sylla.

For that more men......the sun setting—Pompey was rising in power and popularity and he told Sylla that his power was declining, and therefore he will not have much respect from the people.

Decimus Brutus—he served in Caesar's Gallic wars. He joined the conspiracy of Junius Brutus against Caesar.

That interest—the same high favour.

Set him down—mentioned him ; wrote down.

Testament—will.

For heir—to be the heir of the throne.

His nephew—Caesar Octavius Augustus.

Would have discharged the senate—would have ended the senate.

In regard of—because of.

Some ill presages—some bad forebodings.

Calpurnia—Caesar's wife. In the dream she dreamt that Caesar's statue was streaming in blood.

This man—Decimus Brutus.

Favour—influence and love.

Antonius—Mark Antony, the friend of Caesar.

Recited verbatim—read out word for word.

Cicero's Philippics—Cicero spoke ill of mark Antony in a number of oration's called philippics, called after the orations of Demosthenes against philip of Macedon.

Agrippa—he was Augustus's chief naval commander.

Maecenas—the favourite minister of Augustus.

Sejanus—he was the emperor's minister.

Ascended—risen.

Termed—called.

Reckoned—considered.

Septimius Severus—Emperor of Rome.

Plautianus—prefect of the Pretorian Guard at Rome in the time of Severus.

In doing affronts—in causing insult.

Over-live me—continue to live after me.

Trajan—Emperor of Rome and friend and patron of Pliny ; he was a very noble soul.

Marcus Aurelius—A. D. 161-180. One of the noblest and greatest emperors of Rome.

Proceeded of—happened as a result of.

Abundant—great ; overwhelming.

Severity of mind—toughness of thinking.

Felicity—happiness.

As an half piece—incomplete.

Comineus—a French historian.

Duke Charles the Hardy—Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy (1433-1477).

Communicate—tell ; share.

That closeness did impair and a little perish his understanding—by keeping his secrets and not opening his heart to any one, he found he had lost the vitality of his mind.

Whose closeness was indeed his tormentor—Louis XI similarly suffered because he could not open his heart to anyone.

Parable—proverb.

Pythagoras—a great Greek philosopher.

Dark—baffling.

Eat not the heart—do not suffer from anxieties and worries all alone ; let them be told to your friends.

Would give it a hard phrase—would express it in a strong language.

Admirable—marvellous ; wonderful.

This communicating of a man's self to his friend—this kind of opening out of one's heart to one's friend.

Works two contrary effects—has two opposite effects.

Redoubleth joys—joys increase because of friend's participating in your feelings.

Cutteth griefs in halfs—the intensity of grief becomes half because the heart's burden becomes light.

Imparteth—gives.

He joyeth the more—he feels all the more happy.

He grieveth the less—feels less unhappy.

It is in truth of operation upon a man's mind—it is just like an operation upon a man's mind.

Of like virtue—producing the same effect.

Alchymists—modern spelling 'alchemists' ; persons prescribing medicines and drugs.

Maketh indeed a fair day—develops and grows.

Affections—feelings and emotions.

Fraught with—filled with.

To clarify and break up—attain clarity.

Discoursing—talking ; discussing.

Tosseth his thoughts more easily—begins to see a problem from many points of view.

Marshalleth them more orderly—puts his ideas in a proper order.

Waxeth wiser than himself—growth more wise than he really is.

Themistocles—Athenian statesman.

Cloth of Arras—tapestry. It is so called from the town of Arras where it is made.

Put abroad—opened up ; unfolded.

In figure—clearly ; distinctly.

They—ideas.

As in packs—all jumbled up.

Restrained—limited.

Whetteth his wits against a stone—sharpens his understanding.

Relate himself to—speak out.

To suffer—to allow.

To pass in smother—To remain confined within him.

Falleth within vulgar observation—can be observed by any ordinary person.

Faithful counsel—sincere advice.

Heraclitus—a famous Greek philosopher lived in the 6th century B. C.

Enigmas—difficult to understand.

Dry light is ever the best—unprejudiced advices.

Infused and drenched in his affections and customs—which is coloured by his own feelings and ideas.

So as—similarly.

Between the counsel of a friend and of a flatterer—just as the counsel a man receives from a friend is better than the one received from one's own self, similarly there is difference between the advice given by a friend and iven by a flatterer.

As is a man's self—man's own feelings and personality.

The liberty of a friend—the free and unbiased advice of a friend.

Preservative—remedy to preserve it.

Admonition—censure.

Calling of a man's self to a strict account—when a man is asked to explain himself before a friend.

Too piercing and corrosive—having a powerful effect.

Flat and dead—dull and out of fashion.

Unproper—improper ; not wise.

Presently—soon.

Favour—features.

Fond and high—foolish and loud.

Shall be bowed and crooked to some ends—given foi some selfish purpose.

Overthroweth—ruins.

Man's estate—man's condition.

Will beware—will not desire.

Furthering—acting for the purpose of ; helping.

Rest upon—depend upon.

Scattered counsels—advice from a number of people.

Pomegranate—a kind of fruit.

To represent to life—to show clearly.

To cast—to count.

Sparing speech—it did not contain the whole truth.

Principally—mainly

Take to heart—begin to like much.

The bestowing—the marriage.

In desire of something—keeping with them the desire and not fulfilling it.

Rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him—that his friends will take care of such things as he could not fulfil in his life.

Two lives in his desires—as far as his desires are concerned a man has two lives if he has a friend. The desires will be attended to while the man is alive—first life ; they will be cared for after his death by his friend—second life.

Scarce allege—hardly says.

Extol—praise.

Brook—tolerate.

Supplicate—to ask for favour.

But all these things......friends' mouth—all these can be said through a friend with modesty and dignity.

Which are blushing in a man's own—in saying which himself a man blushes.

Upon terms—upon agreed conditions.

It sorteth with—it agrees with.

Enumerate—count.

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14 OF THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS AND ESTATES

The speech of Themistocles the Athenian, which was haughty and arrogant in taking so much to himself, had been a grave and wise observation and censure, applied at large to others. Desired at a feast to touch a lute, he said, *He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city.* These words (holpen a little with a metaphor) may express two different abilities in those that deal in business of estate. For if a true survey be taken of counsellors and statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those which can make a small state, great, and yet cannot fiddle : as, on the other side, there will be found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly, but yet are so far from being able to make a small state great, as their gift lieth the other way ; to bring a great and flourishing estate to ruin and decay. And certainly, those degenerate arts and shifts whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their masters and estimation with the vulgar, deserve no better name than fiddling ; being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal and advancement of the state which they serve. There are also (no doubt) counsellors and governors which may be held sufficient (*negotiis pares*), able to manage affairs, and to keep them from precipices and manifest inconveniences ; which nevertheless are far from the ability to raise and amplify an estate in power, means, and fortune. But be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the work ; that is, the true greatness of kingdoms and estates, and the means thereof—an argument fit for great and mighty

princes to have in their hand; to the end that neither by over-measuring their forces they lose themselves in vain enterprises, nor, on the other side, by under-valuing them they descend to fearful and pusillanimous counsels.

The greatness of an estate in bulk and territory doth fall under measure; and the greatness of finances and revenue doth fall under computation. The population may appear by musters; and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards and maps. But yet there is not anything amongst civil affairs more subject to error than the right valuation and true judgement concerning the power and forces of an estate. The kingdom of heaven is compared, not to any great kernel or nut, but to a grain of mustardseed; which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there states great in territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command; and some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet apt to be the foundations of great monarchies.

Walled towns, stored arsenals and armouries, goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like: all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike. Nay number itself in armies importeth not much where the people is of weak courage; for (as Virgil saith) *It never troubles a wolf how many the sheep be*. The army of the Persians in the plains of Arbela was such a vast sea of people as it did somewhat astonish the commanders in Alexander's army, who came to him therefore and wished him to set upon them by night; but he answered, *He would not pilfer the victory* and the defeat was easy. When Tigranes the Armenian, being encamped upon a hill with four hundred thousand men, discovered the army of the Romans, being not above fourteen thousand

marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said, *Yonder men are too many for an ambassage, and too few for a fight*; but before the sun set he found them enough to give him the chase with infinite slaughter. Many are the examples of the great odds between number and courage : so that a man may truly make a judgement that the principal point of greatness in any state is to have a race of military men. Neither is money the sinews of war (as it is trivially said), where the sinews of men's arms in base and effeminate people are failing : for Solon said well to Croesus (when in ostentation he showed him his gold), *Sir, if any other come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold.* Therefore let any prince or state think soberly of his forces, except his militia of natives be of good and valirant soldiers. And let princes, on the other side, that have subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength, unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary forces (which is the help in this case), all examples show that whatsoever estate or prince doth rest upon them, *he may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them soon after.*

The blessing of Judah and Issachar will never meet ; *that the same people or nation should be both the lion's whelp and the ass between burdens* : neither will it be that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant and martial. It is true that taxes levied by consent of the estate, do abate men's courage less ; as it hath been seen notably in the excises of the Low Countries ; and, in some degree, in the subsidies of England. For you must note that we speak now of the heart and not of the purse. So that although the same tribute and tax laid by consent or by imposing be all one to the purse, yet it works diversely upon the courage. So that you may conclude *that no people overcharged with tribute is fit for empire.*

Let states that aim at greatness take heed how

their nobility and gentlemen do multiply too fast; for that maketh the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain, driven out of heart, and in effect but the gentleman's labourer. Even as you may see in coppice woods; *if you leave your staddles too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs and bushes.* So in countries, if the gentlemen be too many, the commons will be base; and you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll will be fit for an helmet: especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army: and so there will be great population and little strength. This which I speak of hath been nowhere better seen than by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though far less in territory and population, hath been (nevertheless) an overmatch; in regard, the middle people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not. And herein the device of King Henry the Seventh (whereof I have spoken largely in the *History of his Life*) was profound and admirable, in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard, that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty, and no servile condition; and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, and not mere hirelings. And thus indeed you shall attain to Virgil's character, which he gives to ancient Italy:

Terra potens armis atque ubere glebae.

Neither is that state (which, for anything I know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be found anywhere else, except it be perhaps in Poland) to be passed over; I mean the state of free servants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen, which are no ways inferior unto the yeomanry for arms. And therefore, out of all question, the splendour and magnificence and great retinues and hospitality of noblemen and gentlemen received into custom doth much conduce unto martial greatness; whereas, contrariwise, the close and reserved living

of noblemen and gentlemen causeth a penury of military forces.

By all means it is to be procured that the trunk of Nebuchadnezzar's tree of monarchy be great enough to bear the branches and the boughs ; that is, that the natural subjects of the crown or state bear a sufficient proportion to the stranger subjects that they govern. Therefore all states that are liberal of naturalization towards strangers are fit for empire. For to think that a handful of people can, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion, it may hold for a time but it will fail suddenly. The Spartans were a nice people in point of naturalization ; whereby, while they kept their compass, they stood firm ; but when they did spread, and their boughs were becommen too great for their stem, they became a windfall upon the sudden. Never any state was in this point so open to receive strangers into their body as were the Romans. Therefore it sorted with them accordingly, for they grew to the greatest monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalization (which they called *jus civitatis*), and to grant it in the highest degree, that is, not only *jus commercii*, *jus connubii*, *jus haereditatis*, but also, *jus suffragii*, and *jus honorum ;* and this not to singular persons alone, but likewise to whole families ; yea to cities, and sometimes to nations. Add to this their custom of plantation of colonies, whereby the Roman plant was removed into the soil of other nations. And putting both constitutions together, you will say that it was not the Romans that spread upon the world, but it was the world that spread upon the Romans ; and that was the sure way of greatness, I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards ; but sure the whole compass of Spain is a very great body of a tree, far above Rome and Sparta at the first. And besides, though they have not had that usage to naturalize liberally, yet

they have that which is next to it ; that is, *to employ almost indifferently all nations in their militia of ordinary soldiers ;* yea, and sometimes in their highest commands. Nay, it seemeth at this instant they are sensible of this want of natives ; as by the *Pragmatical Sanction*, now published, appeareth.

It is certain that sedentary and within-door arts and delicate manufactures (that require rather the finger than the arm) have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition. And generally all warlike people are little idle, and love danger better than travail ; neither must they be too much broken of it if they shall be preserved in vigour. Therefore it was great advantage in the ancient states of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the use of slaves, which commonly did rid those manufactures. But that is abolished, in greatest part, by the Christian law. That which cometh nearest to it is to leave those arts chiefly to strangers (which for that purpose are the more easily to be received), and to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives within those three kinds, tillers of the ground, free servants, and handicraftsmen of strong and manly arts, as smiths, masons, carpenters, &c., not reckoning professed soldiers.

But above all, for empire and greatness, it importeth most that a nation do profess arms as their principal honour, study, and occupation. For the things which we formerly have spoken of are but habilitations towards arms ; and what is habilitation without intention and act ? Romulus, after his death (as they report or feign), sent a present to the Romans, that above all they should intend arms, and than they should prove the greatest empire of the world. The fabric of the state of Sparta was wholly (though not wisely) farmed and compose to that scope and end. The Persians and Macedonians had it for a flash. The Gauls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a time. The Turks have it at this day, though in great declination. Of

Christian Europe, they that have it are in effect only the Spaniards. But it is so plain *that every man profiteth in that he most intendeth*, that it needeth not to be stood upon. It is enough to point at it ; that no nation which doth not directly profess arms may look to have greatness fall into their mouths. And on the other side, it is a most certain oracle of time that those states that continue long in that profession (as the Romans and Turks principally have done) do wonders. And those that have professed arms but for an age have, notwithstanding, commonly attained that greatness in that age which maintained them long after, when their profession and exercise of arms had grown to decay.

Incident to this point is for a state to have those laws or customs which may reach forth unto them just occasions (as may be pretended) of war. For there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men that they enter not upon wars (whereof so many calamities do ensue) but upon some at the least specious grounds and quarrels. The Turk hath at hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect, a quarrel that he may always command. The Romans, though they esteemed the extending the limits of their empire to be great honour to their generals when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a war. First therefore let nations that pretend to greatness have this, that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or politic ministers ; and that they sit not too long upon a provocation. Secondly, let them be prest and ready to give aids and succours to their confederates : as it ever was with the Romans ; insomuch as if the confederate had leagues defensive with divers other states, and upon invasion offered did implore their aids severally, yet the Romans would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the honour. As for the wars which were anciently made on behalf of a kind of party or tacit confirmity of estate, I do not see how they may be well justifi-

ed : as when the Romans made a war for the liberty of Graecia : or when the Lacedaemonians and Athenians made wars to set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies : or when wars were made by foreigners, under the pretence of justice or protection, to deliver the subjects of others from tyranny and oppression ; and the like. Let it suffice, that no estate expect to be great that is not awake upon any just occasion of arming.

No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic ; and certainly to a kingdom or estate a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war, indeed, is like the heat of a fever ; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health ; for in a slothful peace both courages will effeminate and manners corrupt. But howsoever it be for happiness, without all question for greatness it maketh to be still for the most part in arms ; and the strength of a verteran army (though it be a chargeable business) always on foot, is that which commonly giveth the law, or at least the reputation amongst all neighbour states ; as may well be seen in Spain, which hath had in one part or other, a veteran army almost continually now by the space of six-score years.

To be master of the sea is an abridgement of a monarchy. Cicero, writing to Atticus of Pompey his preparation against Caesar, saith, *Consilium Pompeii plane Themi-stocleum est ; puptat enim qui mari potitur eum rerum potiri.* And without doubt Pompey had tired out Caesar if upon vain confidence he had not left that way. We see the great effects of battle by sea. The battle of Actium decided the empire of the world. The battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of the Turk. There be many examples where sea-fights have been final to the war ; but this is when princes or states have set up their rest upon the battles. But thus much is certain ; that he that commands the sea is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as

he will; whereas those that be strongest by land are many times nevertheless in great straits. Surely at this day with us of Europe the vantange of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great; both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass; and because the wealth of both Indies seems in great part but an accessary to the command of the seas.

The wars of latter ages seem to be made in the dark, in respect of the glory and honour which reflected upon men from the wars in ancient time. There be now, for martial encouragement, some degrees and orders of chivalry, which nevertheless are conferred promiscuously upon soldiers and no soldiers; and some remembrance perhaps upon the scutcheon; and some hospitals for maimed soldiers; and such like things. But in ancient times, the trophies erected upon the place of the victory; the funeral laudatives and monuments for those that died in the wars; the crowns and garlands personal; the style of emperor, which the great kings of the world after borrowed; the triumphs of the generals upon their return; the great donatives and largesses upon the disbanding of the armies; were things able to inflame all men's courages. But above all, that of the triumph amongst the Romans was not pageants or gaudery, but one of the wisest and noblest institutions that ever was. For it contained three things; honour to the general, riches to the treasury out of the spoils, and donatives to the army. But that honour perhaps were not fit for monarchies, except it be in the person of the monarch himself or his sons; as it came to pass in the times of the Roman emperors, who did impropriate the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons for such wars as they did achieve in person, and left only for wars achiev-

ed by subjects some triumphal garments and ensigns to the general.

To conclude : no man can *by care taking* (as the Scripture saith) *add a cubit to his stature* in this little model of a man's body ; but in the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths it is in the power of princes or estates to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms. For by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as we have now touched, they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession. But these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.

Notes and Explanations :

Themistocles—great soldier and statesman of Athens. He defeated the Persian fleet at Salamis in 480 B.C.

Censure—admonition ; opinion.

Observation—remark, saying.

Holpen a little......metaphor—if we make use of a metaphor or imagination.

Cunningly—skilfully.

The idea is that statesmen may possess great abilities and enlarge kingdoms but may be devoid of ordinary gifts like fiddling and *vice versa*.

Degenerates arts and shifts—low and degraded arts and devices which courtiers and governors adopt to gain favour with the king and win reverence of the people.

Estimates—respect ; esteem.

Vulgar—common people.

Tending to—conducive to.

Weal—hapiness, welfare.

Precipices—steep cliffs, dangers.

Amplify—increase ; augment.

Fortune—prosperity.

Leese—loosen ; undertake thoughtlessly.

Enterprises—adventures ; campaigns.

Pussillanimous—faint-hearted, mean-spirited.

Argument—plea ; recipe ; subject.

To the end......counsels—so that kings may not over-estimate their power and embark upon foolish campaigns nor they may under-estimate their strength and submit on the weak and cowardly advice of their mean-spirited counsellors.

Bulk and territory—dimension and extent of the state.

Computation—calculation.

Musters—gathering ; here in the sense of census register.

Card—chart.

Civil—political.

The Kingdom of Heavens—in the Bible the kingdom of heaven is compared to a seed of mustard which though the smallest grows rapidly and bulkily into a tree. Thus a grain of mustard has the potentiality of growth and development. Similarly a small kingdom or state may have great potentiality for growth into a big empire.

Stem—extent ; territory.

Sheep in lion's skin—apparently big and imposing but inwardly week and timid.

Importeth not much—is not of great import or importance.

Ordnance—guns and arms store.

Arbela—the battle of Arbela was fought in 330 B.C. Alexander the Great defeated Darius, king of Persia.

Set upon—attack.

Pilfer—steal.

Tigranes—king of Armenia, defeated by the Roman army under Luculus.

Ambassage—embassy.

Enow—enough.

Great odds between number and courage--numbers and courage are unequally matched. Victory depends upon the spirit and bravery of soldiers and not on their great number.

The sinews of war—money and material necessary for war.

Effeminate—cowardly, soft-hearted.

Solon—wise and eminent legislator of Athens (638-558 B.C.).

Croesus—king of Lydia, 560 B.C. He was conquered by Cyrus, king of Persia.

Think soberly of—have modest and small opinion of.

Know their own strenth—should be well aware of their power and not be cowed down by any threat from out-side.

Wanting......themselves—lacking necessary courage in themselves.

Mercenary—hired from foreign countries.

Rest—depend ; rely.

Feathers—pride of victory ; laurels.

New—shed, moult (said of hawk).

The blessing of......never meet—Judah is described as 'lion's whelp' but Isaachar, as 'a strong ass crouching between two burdens' (Genesis XLIX).

People—nation.

Overlaid—over-burdened.

Excises of the low countries—heavy duties imposed upon the people of Halland to meet the emergency of Spanish War.

Subsidies—sums voted by Parliament.

The same tribute .....courage—it makes no difference for the state treasury whether a tax is levied by the consent of the people or by force. But it does affect their courage. Tax by consent does not discourage people while arbitrary taxes depress the people's spirit.

For that maketh labourer—if nobility increases too much the common people are reduced to the position of slaves and rustics.

Coppice—wood of small trees:

Staddles—young trees left standing after the underwood has been cleared.

Poll—head.

Helmet—iron cap for soldier's head.

Nerve—real source of strength.

In regard—because.

Profound—wise.

The divice of King Henry the seventh—King Henry VII passed a law that prohibited big pasture grounds that put wealth into a few hands and worsened the lot of common people. His law battered the condition of peasants and farmers who supplied valiant brave infantry. It also increased state revenue. Farmers were given enough land to live well.

Servile—slavish.

Husbandry—farming.

Yeomanry—yeomen, cavalry raised from among farmers.

Retinues—followers and servants of a noble or prince.

Received into custom—become customery ; accepted as a custom.

Penury—poverty, paucity.

Nebuchadnezzar's tree—a king of Babylon who once dreamt that he saw a big tree all cut down but the stamp left in the ground.

Stranger subjects—foreigners ; people of alien origin.

Naturalization—making foreigners natural subjects or granting them rights of citizonship.

Embrace—possess : hold and control.

Kept their compass—confind their empire within narrow limits.

Boughs—branches, crowds of foreign subjects.

Stem—trunk ; the back-bone of the empire namely natives (Spartans).

Too great for their stem—beyond control by the native rulers and soldiers.

Windfall—anything thrown down by the wind ; here downfall of the Spartan empire.

Sorted with them - agreed and lasted with them.

Singular—distinguish ; aristocrats or Particians.

Roman Plant .... nations—the Romans spread and established colonies in other countries. Thus branches of the Roman plant (mother or parent government) extended or spread over foreign lands.

And putting......the Roman--by the practice of naturalization and that of colonization the Romans not only expanded abroad themselves but foreigners were attracted to Rome because of the equal rights of citizenship and no discrimination was made between a Roman and a non-Roman. Hence it is true to say that the world spread over the Romans.

At the first—in the beginning.

Usage—practice ; custom.

Indifferently—without any distinction.

Pragmatical sanction—a royal decree issued by Philip IV which gave certain priviliges and immunities to married persons and those having six or more children. It was meant to increase population to draw upon for better and effective control of colonies.

Have in their......disposition—are not inclined by nature towards military service ; they are by nature devoid of military or war-like spirit.

Travail—labour ; work.

Too much broken of it—made to work too hard or to exhaustion.

Did rid those manufactures—disposed of those fine, delicate arts ; were engaged in the production of those manufactures requiring no physical labour.

Contain—confine.

Vulgar natives—common countrymen.

Principal bulk—majority.

It importeth—is important.

Profess arm—take to military profession.

Habilitations—training.

Romulus—founder of the city of Rome. He suddenly disappeared from the world and sent a secret message that the Romans would build a world empire and exhorted them to develop military power.

Present—advice ; message.

Intend—pay attention to.

Fabric—structure.

Wisely—skilfully.

Compose to that end—people were prepared and trained from boyhood as hardy soldiers and militarists.

Had it for a flash—had military glory for a very short time.

For a time—for sometime.

Declination—decay ; decline ; are losing the war-like spirit.

To be stood up—to be insisted upon or emphasised.

Oracle of Time—lesson of history, prophecy of Time.

Incident to this—attached to or connected with this.

Reach them—bring or provide them.

Ensue—result, accure.

Specious—plausible.

But upon some......specious quarrels—except when there is some reasonable or plausible ground and dispute for war.

Propagation......sect—preaching of his religion (Islam) and the Quranic laws.

Command—use as cause of war.

Rest upon—depend upon (military exploit or glory was not the only incentive to war).

Pretend to—aspire to.

Sensible conscious, sensitive to.

Borderer—one living on the border.

Politic ministers—diplomats or representatives of other countries.

Sit not .....provocation—provocation or insult should not be brooked for long : war must be declared immediately.

Confederate—ally.

Prest—ready.

Succour—help.

Leagues defensive—defence pact or alliance.

Upon invasion offered—threatend with attack.

Implore—beg.

Severally—separately.

The idea is that the Romans considered it an honour to lend aid when requested by any state that was a member of some alliance against them.

Tacit conformity of estate—silent or undeclared agreement to help a state of similar political set-up. There was disunity in Greece and every Greek state had two parties, democratic and oligarchical. Each party looked to some outside power for help. Romans found a pretext to intervene. Spartans too interfered in Greek internal conflicts. For the liberty of Graecia, Romans fought with Philip of Macedon who tried to suppress the freedom of Graecia.

Oligarchy—government by a few.

Deliver—free.

Awake upon......arming—alive to the necessity of a just occasion for fighting ; war should be made only when there is a just and right cause for it.

Slothful peace—peace that makes the nation lazy and sluggish.

Effeminate—decline, decrease.

Body politic—state.

Manners—morals.

It maketh for—is conducive to, leads to.

For greatness......in arms—it makes a nation great to be always war-like and equipped with arms.

Vetern—experienced and efficient.

Chargeable—expensive.

On foot—in readiness, on march.

Giveth the law—domineers and compels submission or dictates terms to the neighbouring states.

To be master......monarchy—one who commands the sea is almost a monarch.

Pompey his preparation—Pompey's preparation.

Themistocles—he persuaded the Athenians to fight the Persians at sea instead of on land in the year 480 B.C.

Tired out—routed ; exhausted.

That way—fighting at sea ; sea-battle.

The battle of Actium—Octavious, afterwards Augustus, defeated Antony at Actium in 31 B.C. and became master of the Roman world.

The battle of Lepanto—Turks were defeated in the battle of Lepanto by the combined Papal, Spanish and Venetian naval forces in 1571 A.D.

Final to the war—decided and ended the war.

Have set up......battles—have ris ed every thing on the battles.

Vantage—advantage.

Dowries—gifts ; powers.

Compass—limit, boundry.

Girt with—surrounded and checked or restrained by sea.

Both Indies—the West Indies and East Indies.

Accessary—result or fruit.

In respect of—as compared with.

Made in the dark—without making name in the history; with no glory or renown as fruit of war.

Reflected upon—fell to the lot of.

Chivalry—gallantry ; feats of bravery.

Order—honour or title like 'Knight'.

Promiscuously – indiscriminately.

Scutchion—shield.

Remembrance—sign or insignia.

Maimed—crippled ; having lost limbs.

Trophy—memorial.

Laudative—oration or speech in praise of martyrs like that of Pericles, statesman of Athens.

Personal—conferred on individuals for distinctive gallantry in war.

Style—title, title of Emperor was first assumed by Augustus and then became customary with Roman kings ; originally it denoted military as well as civil supreme power.

Triumph—procession of victorious general or commander through Rome on his return from war.

Donative and largen—gift and present given to individual without official ceremony.

Pageant—splendid empty show through procession.

Gaudery—display.

Institution—custom

Impropriate—appropfiate, take.

Ensign—badge ; decoration.

Add a cubit to his stature—increase his size.

Model of man's body—human body which is a model of state in miniature or on a small scale.

Amplitude—vast territory, extent.

Touched—dealt with ; glanced at.

Ordinances—laws, decrees.

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15. OF DISCOURSE

Some in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold all arguments, than of judgement, in discerning what is true ; as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought. Some have certain common-places and themes wherein they are good, and want variety ; which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and when it is once perceived ridiculous. The honourablest part of talk is to give the occasion ; and again to moderate and pass to somewhat else ; for than a man leads the dance. It is good in discourse and speech of conversation to vary and intermingle speech of the present occasion with arguments, tales with reasons, asking of questions with telling of opinions, and, jest with earnest ; for it is a dull thing to tire, and, as we say now, to jade anything too far. As for jest, there be certain thing which ought to be privileged from it ; namely religion, matters of state, great persons, any man's present business of importance, and any case that deserveth pity. Yet there be some that think their wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant and to the quick ; that is a vein which would be bridled ;

Parce Puer stimulis, et fortius utere loris.

And generally, men ought to find the difference between saltness and bitterness. Certainly, he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others' memory. He that questioneth much shall learn much, and content much ; but especially if he apply his questions to the skill of the persons whome he asketh ; for he shall give them occasion to please

themselves in speaking and himself shall continually gather knowledge. But let his questions not be troublesome, for that is fit for a poser. And let him be sure to leave other men their turns to speak. Nay, if there be any that would reign and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and to bring others on; as musicians use to do with those that dance too long galliards. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought another time to know that you know not. Speech of a man's self ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew one was wont to say in scorn, *He must needs be a wise man, he speaks so much of himself*: and there is but one case wherein a man may commend himself with good grace, and that is in commending virtue in another, especially if it be such a virtue whereunto himself pretendeth. Speech of touch towards others should be sparingly used; for discourse ought to be as a field, without coming home to any man. I knew two nobleman of the west part of England, whereof the one was given to scoff, but kept ever royal cheer in his house; the other would ask of those that had been at the other's table, *Tell truly, was there never a flout or dry blow given*? To which the guest would answer, *Such and such a thing passed*. The lord would say *I thought would mar a good dinner*. Discertain of speech is more than eloquence; and to speak agreeably to him with whom we deal is more than to speak in good words or in good order. A good continued speech, without a good speech of interlocution, shows slowness; and a good reply or second speech, without a good settled speech, showeth shallowness and weakness. As we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course are yet nimblest in the turn; as it is betwixt the greyhound and the hare. To use too many circumstances ere one come to the matter is wearisome; to use none at all is blunt.

Notes and Explanations :

Discourse—'conversation' is the sense in which Bacon uses the words. Towards the end of the essay, he uses the word in that sense long and eloquent speeches and powers of debate.

Commendation of wit—praise or reputation for cleverness or ingenuity.

Hold all arguments, etc.—uphold or support any side of a subject or question submitted for discussion. The reputation for cleverness is apt to be achieved by those who can support and argue any proposition, talk on any subject and maintain his position or opinion of his own by arguments. They do it by their wit rather than by exercising their reasoining and judgment, which should inform a conversation worth listening to, for the real object of conversation should be to sift out of truth.

As if it...... though—good conversation is too often spoilt by the desire to show ready wit, superficial *pronenes* to talk without depth on every imaginable object, the ease with which a man can argue any proposition and the repetition of commonplaces (trite, worn-out remarks and hackneyed utterances). The best conversation must be based on sound thinking and correct judgment.

Common-places—ordinary topics, worn out by use till all their novelty and interest are lost.

Themes—set or fixed subjects.

Some have.........ridiculous—Some people achieve notoriety and social popularity by being able to talk on ordinary and hackneyed subjects with wit. There performances are tedious and ridiculous and by these means (wit without judgment, thought and depth) they spoil all good conversation.

The honourable.........occasion—in private life a good conversationalist is he who does not monopolise all the talk himself but just lead it on and very and enable others to contribute their share to it.

Give the occasion—introduce or suggest various topics, supply the subject for the talk and make others speak instead of doing all the talking himself. Coleridge suffered from this defect.

Moderate—control the discourse so as to act as a kind of moderator.

For then.........daunce—a man can lead the talk if these conditions are fulfilled : (1) not to monopolize it (2) but to pass it on to others so that they too may contribute (3) vary the topics by introducing *new* subjects (4) make everyone contribute his quota to it and (5) check and combat it like moderator.

Entermingle.........arguments—a brilliant and skilful talker should know well how and where to introduce considerations of general interest—intersperse talks on subjects of topical interest (current topics) with discussion on abstract topics or other matters of permanent interest—with a view to illustrating or relieving the monotony of the topics under discussion at the moment.

Of the present occasion—matter to temporary interest immediately under discussion.

Jade—overdo, "to ride a subject to death".

Tales with reasons—stories with reflections.

Priviledged from it—avoided or exempted as subjects of talk.

Religion, matters of state—religion and politics should be avoided in conversation. In religion, we may give offence to somebody by wounding his susceptibilities. So in politics passions may be aroused owing to difference in political opinions.

There be some—there are some.

Except......piquant—unless they make some pungent (sarcastic and painful) remarks about religion, politics or great persons.

To the quick—cutting.

Vaine—vein, kind of conversation—here, a tendency (a humour).

That is a vaine......bridled—this tendency to pass scathing and cutting remarks constitutes a disposition or indignation which needs to be checked or restrained.

Parce.........puer......etc.—"boy, spare the goad (whip), and pull harder on the reins"—(Ovid, Metamorphoses ii, 127). There are Apollo's words to his ambitious son, Phaeton when he wanted to drive the chariot of the sum.

Saltness—wit (Latin *Sal*—salt, *i.e.*, wit).

Satyricall value—tendency or turn of mind to be critical of others.

As—in proportion as. *So he*—here 'he' is redundant in syntax but here it is repeated for the sake of clearness and emphasis.

Content—please others a good deal *Apply*—fit, suit, adapt. *Occasion*—opportunity. *That*—the habit of putting awkward questions. *Poser*—one who 'poses' or puts questions. "an examiner" (Latin translation). *Would etc*—wishes to reign or dominate the talk.

Galliards—it was a lively French dance somewhat resembling a horn-pipe—a spirited gay dance for two persons.

If you dissemble.........know not—don't show all that you know but hide some so as to acquire the reputation of knowing more that you profess to know in order that people may give you credit for knowing something you don't know. *Cf. Adv.* (Book ii, 134). "Scorates used to disable his knowledge, to the end to enhance his knowledge. Bacon adds in *De Augmentis* : By denying that he knew things which he manifestly did know, he thought that he would get the reputation of knowing things which he really did not know.

Speech of a man's selfe—talk regarding himself.

That—for "that which". *Pretendeth*—lays claims to.

Speech of touch—speech that touches or affects other people personally, *i.e.*, malicious sayings or talks.

Of touch—concerning or touching others.

Coming home to—having special reference to, especially in a harmful way.

Whereunto—as.

Ought to be a field, etc.—discourse should have a wide scope of courage ; it should be general and not directed against particular persons ; "Conversation should like an open field in which one may walk about ; not like the high way which leads home". (Latin translation).

Flout or dry blow—taunt or severe or smart hit or jest.

(Dry - shrewd, sharp. *Witty*—sarcasting, sneering) opposed to a wound that draws blood.

Agreeably—in a suitable manner of style.

Interlocution—conversation

Good speech of interlocution—readiness to reply to interrupters of questioners ; the replies made to the continuous remarks of another person.

All conversation requires readiness of wit or extempore criticism. As such, it is different from a set of speech which does not involve the power of making a witty reply. Such a man is compared to a *greyhound*, as a greyhound can only run on but cannot turn about suddenly.

Settled speech—a set or deliberate speech of some length. *Course*—race ; in running.

A man without the power of speaking continuously is evidently contrasted against one who has ready wit and is able to give a smart *repartee* but has no depth of knowledge to be able to make a sustained speech. Such a man is compared to a *hare* as against a *greyhound*.

To use too many circumstances—introductory details or incidental matters connected with the main topic of the speech.

Blunt—abrupt and unpleasing.

Critical Note :

Style – In his early essays as in this, the sentences are bald, short, crisp but sententious. Each sentence stands by itself and is the concentrated expression of weighty thought. The treatment is impersonal and objective and we cannot get an inkling into the inner life of the author, as we can from the essays of Montaigne. It has been well said of Bacon's style that "each sentence of Bacon's contains matter of a paragraph of an ordinary writer." This is true of his earlier essays, like the essay on "Discourse". By the time Bacon wrote the latter essays (the editions of 1612, and of 1625), he had not only introduced a new species of literature (the essay) but also created a *new style* richer and mellower than before.

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16. OF AMBITION

Ambition is like choler, which is an humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped: but if it be stopped and cannot have his way, it becometh adust, and thereby malign and venomous. So ambitious men, if they find the way open for their rising and still get forward, they are rather busy than dangerous; but if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye, and are best pleased when things go backward; which is the worst property in a servant of a prince or state. Therefore it is good for princes, if they use ambitious men, to handle it so as they be still progressive and not retrograde; which because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to use such natures at all; for if they rise not with their service, they will take order to make their service fall with them. But since we have said it were good not to use men of ambitious natures, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak in what cases they are of necessity. Good commanders in the wars must be taken, be they never so ambitious, for the use of their service dispenseth with the rest; and to take a solider without ambition is to pull off his spurs. There is also great use of ambitious men in being screens to princes in matters of danger and envy; for no man will take that part except he be like a seeled dove, that mounts and mounts because he cannot see about him. There is use also of ambitious men in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops; as Tiberius used Macro in the pulling down of Sejanus. Since therefore they must be used in such cases, there resteth to speak how they are to

be bridled that they may be less dangerous. There is less danger of them if they be of mean birth than if they be noble; and if they be rather harsh of nature than gracious and popular; and if they be rather new raised than grown cunning and fortified in their greatness. It is counted by some a weakness in princes to have favourites; but it is, of all others, the best remedy against ambitious great ones. For when the way of pleasuring and displeasuring lieth by the favourite, it is impossible any other should be over-great. Another means to curb them is to balance them by others as proud as they. But then there must be some middle counsellors to keep things steady; for without that ballast the ship will roll too much. At the least, a prince may animate and inure some meaner persons to be as it were scourges to ambitious men. As for the having of them obnoxious to ruin, if they be of fearful natures, it may do well; but if they be stout and daring, it may precipitate their designs and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the affairs require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only way is the interchange continually of favours and disgraces, whereby they may not know what to expect, and be as it were in a wood. Of ambitions, it is less harmful the ambition to prevail in great things, than that other to appear in everything; for that breeds confusion and mars business. But yet it is less danger to have an ambitious man stirring in business than great in dependances. He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able men hath a great task; but that is ever good for the public. But he that plots to be the only figure amongst ciphers is the decay of an whole age. Honour hath three things in it: the vantage ground to do good; the approach to kings and principal persons; and the raising of a man's own fortunes. He that hath the best of these intentions when he aspireth is an honest man; and that prince that can discern of these intentions in another that aspireth is a wise prince. Generally, let princes and states

choose such ministers as are more sensible of duty than of rising, and such as love business rather upon conscience than upon bravery ; and let them discern a busy nature from a willing mind.

Notes and Explanations :

Choler—one of the four humours or fluids which compose a man's temperament or disposition. These are choler, blood, phlegm and melancholy according to the ancient system of medicine. Excess or otherwise of any of these determines the physical and mental set-up of a man.

Alacrity—agility ; nimbleness.

Adust—burned.

Malign—injurious.

Venomous—poisonous.

Still—always.

Evil eye—jealousy ; intention to harm.

Use—employ.

Handle—manage.

Property—quality.

Retrograde—declining ; suffering downfall.

Inconvenience—trouble.

Such natures—i.e., ambitious men.

They will..... them—if they are degraded, they try to bring about the downfall of their master too.

Take order—try ; endeavour.

Be they never so ambitious—however ambitious they may be. 'Never' is used for 'Ever'.

Dispenseth with the rest—makes up for other defects.

The idea is that good commanders are a necessity for the security of the state. Therefore their ambitious nature and other faults should be ignored in view of their utility and talent as commanders. This talent makes amends for their defects like ambitious.

Ta take......spurs—just as spurs are necessary for goading and urging a horse to run, so ambition in a soldier is necessary to act as incentive to fight and face dangers.

Screen—protection ; guard ; shield.

Take that part—face danger and envy and safe-guard the person of the king.

Envy—unpopularity.

Seeled dove—dove with its eyes sewn up ; the dove, thus blinded, soars higher and higher and falls down exhausted.

An ambitious man rises higher and higher, blind to danger and unpopularity about him, till he suddenly suffers a downfall like the seeled dove.

Over-tops - becomes too powerful; crosses proper bounds of position and power.

As Tiberius . ...Sejanus—Sojanus was a favourite friend and minister as also Prefect of the Pretorian Guards of Roman Emperor, Tiberius. He became jealous and desired to over-throw the Emperor. But the latter came to know of his treachery and with the help of Macro, another ambitious man, got him arrested and executed. Thus ambition served to curb ambition.

Resteth—remains.

Bridled— controlled.

Gracious—kind.

The grown cunning......greatness—an ambitious man who has held a high post for long and has strengthened his position, becomes dangerous and difficult to remove. He knows the ins and outs of the state affairs and weaknesses of the king ; therefore if he is threatened with dismissal, he would try to hatch intrigues and stage a rebellion to catch power.

For when the way..... favourite—when the king's favour or disfavour is possible only through approaching the favourite and winning his approval first.

Ballast—heavy material placed in ship's hold to keep it steady.

Ship—the ship of government or state.

Animate—raise or create.

Inure—accustom.

Scourage—whip for chastising persons.

At least .....men—a ruler is well adviced to keep some mean persons and use them as instrument for curbing ambitious servants.

Obnoxious—liable ; subject.

Stout—bold

Precipitate—act quickly and desparately.

As for the having......dangerous—whether ambitious men can be made liable to downfall through mean people, there are two possibilities. If they are timid by nature, there is no harm likely from them ; but if they are bold and courageous, they may act quickly and desparately to carry out their evil plan or plot and endanger the person of the king or state.

To be in a wood—to be at sea, to be placed in a position of suspense, not knowing what is in store for them.

Interchange of......disgraces—sometimes the king should bestow favours upon them and at others humiliations. Favour and disfavour should come alternately.

Mar—spoil.

Great in dependences—being powerful through followers and dependants at his back.

Stirring in business—actively engaged in state affairs.

Great task—difficult job.

Figure among cyphers—the only man of importance among so many foolish and unworth persons.

Decay—downfall ; ruin.

But he that......whole age—an ambitious man who cannot brook any rival of worth and importance and desires to be a leader of fools, spells disaster to the state.

Honour—position of eminence.

The vantage......good—a position of honour enables a man to do good to others.

Aspireth—desires to rise.

Discern—perceive.

Bravery—display ; love of show.

Upon conscience—with honest sense of duty.

Let them......willing mind—a prince should distinguish between a man who minds his own business and duty only and another who is actuated too much by aspiration to rise.

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17. OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION

Men's thoughts are much according to their inclination : their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinion ; but their deeds are after as they have been accustomed. And therefore, as Macciavel well noteth (though in an evil-favoured instance), there is no trusting to the force of nature nor to the bravery of words, except it be corroborate by custom. His instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate conspiracy a man should not rest upon the fierceness of any man's nature or his resolute undertakings, but take such an one as hath had his hands formerly in blood. But Macciavel knew not of a Friar Clement, nor a Ravillac, nor a Jaureguy, nor Baltazar Gerard ; yet his rule holdeth still that nature nor the engagement of words or not so forcible as custom. Only superstition is now so well advanced that men of the first blood are as firm as butchers by occupation ; and votary resolution is made equipollent to custom even in matter of blood. In other things, the predominancy of custom is everywhere visible ; insomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before, as if they were dead images, and engines moved only by the wheels of custom. We see also the reign or tyranny of custom, what it is. The Indians (I mean the sect of their wise men) lay themselves quietly upon a stack of wood, and so sacrifice themselves by fire. Nay the wives strives to be burned with the corpses of their husbands. The lads of Sparta of ancient time were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana, without so much as queching. I remember, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish rebel condemn-

ed put up a petition to the deputy that he might be hanged in a withe, and not in an halter, because it had been so used with former rebels. There be monks in Russia, for penance, that will sit a whole night in a vessel of water, till they be engaged with hard ice. Many examples may be put of the force of custom both upon mind and body. Therefore, since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs. Certainly, custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years : this we call education, which is in effect but an early custom. So we see, in languages the tongue is more plaint to all expressions and sounds, the joints or more supple to all feats of activity and motion in youth than afterwards. For it is true that late learners cannot so well take the ply, except it be in some minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare. But if the force of custom simple and seperate be great, the force of custom copulate and conjoined and collegiate is far greater. For there example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickneth, glory raiseth ; so as in such places the force of custom is in his exaltation. Certainly, the great multiplication of virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined. For commonwealths and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds. But the misery is that the most effectual means are now applied to the ends least to be desired.

Notes and Explanations :

Inclination—wish ; desire ; here disposition ; nature.

Infused opinions—opinions taken or borrowed from others.

Evil favoured—ugly.

Bravery—glory ; boastfulness

Corroborate—supported ; strengthened.

There is no......by custom—one cannot rely upon the thoughts (nature) and speeches of any man unless these are translated into action (custom).

Rest upon—depend upon.

Undertaking—decision or purpose.

Hath had......blood—has actually murdered some one.

The idea is that it is one thing to say and another to do. It is the action that matters ; words are of no import.

Clement—a friar who murdered Henry III of France.

Ravaillac—assassin of Henry IV of France.

Jaureguy—tried to kill the William the Silent, Prince of Orange.

Baltazar Gerard—shot the Prince of Orange dead.

Engagement of words—use or display of tall talk ; pledge.

Men of the first blood—who commit murder for the first time.

By occupation—professional.

Votary resolution—decision made as a result of sacred vows and sacraments ; religious fanaticism is implied.

Equipollent—equally forcible or powerful.

Votary resolution........blood—ordinarily resolution or determination is not enough or forcible for committing a murder. It is the custom or habit of the murderer that counts. But decision made in a fit of fanaticism or religious vow is as powerful an incentive to murder as custom (of a butcher).

Profess—claim ; boast.

Engage—pledge ; vow.

Than do......before—they fail to do anything; they cannot translate into action their tall talk and proud boast.

Dead images—life-less idols or statues.

Wives strive......husbands—it refers to the custom of *Jauhar* (self-sacrifice) chiefly prevalent among Rajput women or the rite of *Sati* when women burnt themselves alive at the pyres of their husbands.

Scourged—whipped by way of chastisement and divine punishment or vengeance.

Diana—horse-women ; lady hunter ; here the goddess of the chase.

Queching—crying or stirring.

Wont—accustomed.

Condemned—sentenced to death.

With—withe, flexible branch of willow or osier for binding bundles, etc.

Halter—rope or strap with noose for hanging a person. (also for cattle, horse.)

Engaged—bound.

Magistrate—governor ; controller.

Perfect—having greatest force or impression. Young years or youth is impressionable period of life and customs or habits are easily formed, learnt and cultivated at this age.

Pliant—in young age children learn and unlearn everything easily and can be moulded at will. Their tongue is pliant and responsive to words and picks them up quickly.

Supple—liable to bend easily ; pliant.

Take the ply—be bent in any direction ; be moulded or changed easily.

That have not......fix—who have not become rigid and unflexible ; who are responsive to new things and keep their minds open for reception of new ideas.

Continual amendment—impact of new ideas constantly

causes a change in their opinions and moulds their minds all along.

Which......rare—such people with flexible minds are rarely found ; grownups seldom change their habits and modes of thought.

Hence Bacon advises the readers to inculcate good manners and customs in children whose minds are tender, flexible and easily impressionable.

Custom simple and separate—custom of the individual,

Custom copulate and conjoined—custom of society or large number, *i.e.*, custom learnt from contact with society or people.

Collegiate—corporate ; where there are colleagues working together.

Far greater—the influence or force of social customs is greater than individual customs or habits of persons.

Quickeneth—animates, stimulates, rouses, inspires.

In his exaltation—at its highest.

Example teacheth......exaltation—society has a tremendous influence on man. Its customs are instructive by example ; company of men is a source of strength ; emulation and envy of others inspires one to action and effort while glory of society ennobles us. The force of custom is, therefore, at its highest in social gathering or corporate living.

Well-ordained—well organised and governed.

Multiplication—increase, growth.

Nourish virtue grown—improve the quality of virtue already gained or cultivated in the minds ; good government helps people by its beneficent laws and administration in developing virtue and good, but it cannot change the seed of virtue or basic characteristics of the people.

Ends to be least desired—undesirable ends or aims. People apply all their powers and means to the acheivement of vicious aims and abjure virtue.

18. OF YOUTH AND AGE

A man that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time. But that happeneth rarely. Generally, youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second. For there is a youth in thoughts as well as in ages. And yet the invention of young men is more liyely than that of old and imaginations stream into their minds better, and as it were more divenly. Natures that have much heat, and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action till they have passed the meridian of their years : as it was with Julius Ceasar and Septimius Severus ; of the later of whom it is said *Juventutem egit erroribus imo furoribus plenam* ; and yet he was the ablest emperor, almost, of all the list. But reposed natures may do well in youth : as it is seen in Augustus Ceasar, Cosmus duke of Florence, Gastón de Foix, and other. On the other side, heat and vivacity in age is an excellent composition for business. Young men are fitter to invent than to judge, fitter for execution than for counsel, and fitter for new project than for settled business ; for the experience of age, in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them ; but in new things abuseth them. The errors of young men are the ruin of business ; but the errors of aged men amount but to this, that more might have been done or sooner.

Young men, in the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than they can hold ; stir more than they can quiet ; fly to the end without consideration of the means and degrees ; pursue some few principles which they have chanced upon absurdly ; care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences ; use extreme remedies at first ; and, that which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or

retract them, like an unready horse, that will neither stop nor turn. Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of success. Certainly it is good to compound employments of both ; for that will be good for the present, because the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both : and good for succession, that young men may be learners while men in age are actors : and lastly, good for extreme accidents, because authority followeth old men, and favour and popularity youth. But for the moral part, perhaps youth will have the pre-eminence, as age hath for the politic. A certain rabbin, upon the text, *Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams*, inferreth that young men are admitted nearer to God than old, because vision is a clearer revelation than a dream. And certainly, the more a man drinketh of the world the more it intoxicateth : and age doth profit rather in the powers of understanding than in the virtues of the will and affections. There be some have an over-early repeness in their years, which fadeth betimes : these are, first, such as have brittle wits, the edge whereof is soon turned ; such as was Hermogenes the rhetorician, whose books are exceeding subtile, who afterwards waxed stupid. A second sort is of those that have some natural dispositions which have better grace in youth than in age ; such as is a fluent and luxuriant speech, which becomes youth well but not age : so Tully saith of Hortensius, *I dem manebate, neque idem decebat*. The third of such as take too high a strain at the first, and are magnanimous more than tract of years can uphold ; as was Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy saith in effect *Ultima primis, cedebant*.

Notes and Explanations :

Old in hours—fully utilizing his time ; one who wastes

time does not live it in fact and gains no experience and is raw or young and not old.

Cogitation—conception : thought.

First conception is rather dim and hasty.

Youth in thoughts—rawness or indiscretion in opinions and views. Some old people are young in thoughts due to lack of education and experience, while some young men are old in thoughts i.e. mature in judgment owing to education and experience.

Divinely—as if inspired by God.

The idea is that young mind is more imaginative and inventive.

Heat—fire of enthusiasm.

Violent desire—aggressive or offensive ambition.

Perturbations—mental disturbances ; agitation and discontent.

Meridian of years—the prime of life ; period of vigour ; the climax or Zenith of age ; it implies the end of youth and beginning of middle age when excessive heat and vigour of spirit disappear.

Septimius Severus—Roman Emperor A.D. 193-211. Julius Cæsar and Septimius Severus were both full of dynamic spirit and fiery disposition in youth, acted impulsively and in passion rather than in a soberly and cool-headed manner:

Reposed—calm.

Cosmus—Duke of Florence in the sixteenth century.

Gaston de Foix—(1469-1512) brave and energetic commander of French army in Italy.

Vivacity—lively spirit ; animation or sprightliness.

In age—in old man.

Composition—temperament.

Invent—discover ; bring out something new.

Judge—estimate the value of what is invented.

Execution—implementation ; carrying out.

Project—undertaking ; venture.

The idea is that young men because of their enthusiasm, energy and adventurous spirit are better suited to embark upon new undertakings and impliment schemes than offer judgment and advice which require experience.

Experience of age—experience of old men.

Compass of it—sphere of experience ; settled things.

Directeth them—guides the old people.

Abuseth them—misleads them ; corrupts or degenerates them ; demoralizes them (old men).

The ruin of—the cause of the ruin of.

Errors of youngmen are rash and carried to the extreme, and hence most ruinous and dangerous.

Errors of aged men consist in lack of speed and adequacy.

Embrace—undertake ; covet.

Stir--provoke and produce commotion and disturbance (due to heat of temper and boldness of spirit).

Quiet—suppress disturbance or discontent.

Fly to the end—attack desperately to reach the goal ; fall upon the target recklessly.

Means and degrees—methods and resources. Young men do not care for the nature of means, fair or foul, and the adequacy of resources while endeavouring to achieve the aim.

Absurdly—unreasonably ; without consideration of propriety or soundness of reason.

Care not to innovate—do not care if they innovate ; do not hesitate to innovate.

Innovate—bring in novelties or changes which run counter to current custom or popular taste.

Inconveniences - troubles.

That which......errors—which is an error equal to all the other errors put together ; which is the greatest error (namely, not acknowledging the extreme remedies initiated by them and not withdrawing these measures if acknowledged.)

Retract them—young people don't go back upon or withdraw measures and steps which they have once taken. They don't know how to retrace steps or retreat from a course.

Unsteady—restive ; rash and undisciplined.

Of age—old.

Period—conclusion ; completion.

Drive business......period—accomplish something to the end or completely, attain consummation or the height of achievement.

Mediocrity of success—average sucess ; as opposed to extraordinary or unusual achievement.

Compound......both—employ young and old men together.

Virtues of......both—virtues of old age and youth combined together will off-set the defects of both. Caution and experience of old men will curb and moderate the rashness and over-zeal of the young, while spirit of sacrifice, energy and bravery of the youth will make up for the timidity, weakness and scrupulousness of the old.

Succession—future ; posterity.

Accidents—affairs, circumstances.

Externe—external ; mundane and temporal.

Authority......old men—old and experienced people command reverence and compel obedience from others because of their sound judgment and prudence.

Favour......youth—young people command popularity and win favour because of their spirit of sacrifice and feats of bravery.

Pre-eminence—superiority ; better position.

But for the moral......politic—in the moral sphere young men hold the vantage-ground or superior position while in the political field older people reign supreme. Young men possess morality in a higher degree while old people have greater sagacity or prudence. Morality suffers where prudence prevails.

Rabbin—Jewish authority or law and doctrine.

Vision- apparition ; spirit seen in wakeful state. The idea is that youth is the worthier age for vision is better and clearer apparition or immage of God than a dream of the old. Young men possess more generous, pure and affectionate hearts than old people whose hearts are black, stingy and spiteful. The mirror of their heart is not so transparent as to reflect the vision of divinity.

Drinketh—enjoys ; tastes and experiences.

Intoxicateth- makes insensible or blind to reality and truth ; diverts attention from moral and spiritual values.

Affections—feelings ; sentiments ; moral and spiritual considerations.

Over-early ripeness—precocity ; being wiser for age ; premature excellence.

Fadeth—disappears ; decreases.

Betimes—before time.

Brittle—sharp and easily breakable, keen.

Wits- brain ; intellect.

Turned—blunted ; dulled.

Brittle or keen and sensitive brains lose their sharpness soon and become blunt before time. Sensitive brain is soon impaired by strokes of misfortune and is easily upset or deranged.

Subtle—too fine, deep and difficult to follow.

Waxed stupid—became a dullard or dunce or mentally weak ; grew crass or slow-witted.

Disposition—quality ; trait of character.

Sort—kind.

Have better grace in youth—are more becoming or proper for young men than for old people.

Luxuriant—florid and ornate ; rich in linguistic beauties.

Tully—Cicero.

Hortensius—a great orator and contemporary of Cicero.

He did not change...becoming—Hortensius should have abjured florid and highly ornate style of speech in his old age which did not behave him then. But he did not change.

Take to high...uphold – some precocious people strain too hard and rise high morally and their soul soars too high for them to keep steady at the young age. They cannot maintain their magnanimity which is inconsistent with their young age. They suffer a fall from the height of moral and intellectual eminence into the pit of misery and ignominy..

The end of......beginning—his end was as miserable and ignominous as his beginning was prosperous and glorious.

19. OF GARDENS

God almighty first planted a garden. And, indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures. It is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man ; without which buildings and places are but gross handyworks : and a man shall ever see that, when ages grow to civility and elegancy, men come to build stately sooner than to garden finely ; as if gardening were the greater perfection. I do hold it, in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year, in which severally things of beauty may be then in season. For December and January and the latter part of November you must take such things as are green all winter : holly, ivy, bays juniper, cypress-trees, yew, pine-apple-trees, fire-trees, rosemary, lavender, periwinkle—the white the purple and the blue, germander, flags, orange-trees, lemon-trees, and myrtles, if they be stoved ; and sweet marjoram, warm set. There followeth, for the latter part of January and February, the mezereon-tree, which then blossoms ; crocus vernus, both the yellow and the grey ; primroses, anemones, the early tulipa, hyacinthus orientalis, chamairis, fritillaria. For March, there come violets, specially the single blue which are the earliest, the yellow daffodil, the daisy, the almond-tree in blossom, the peach-tree in blossom, the cornelian-tree in blossom, sweet-briar. In April follow the double white violet, the wall flower, the stock-gilliflower, the cowslip, flower-deluces and lilies of all natures, rosemary-flowers the tulipa, the double peony, the pale daffodil, the French honeysuckle, the cherry-tree in blossom, the damson and plum-trees in blossom, the white-thorn in leaf, the lilac-tree. In May and June come pinks

of all sorts, specially the blush-pink, roses of all kinds, except the musk which comes later, honey-suckles, strawberries, bugloss, columbine, the French marygold, flos Africanus, cherry-trée in fruit, ribes, figs in fruit, raspes, vine-flowers, lavender in flowers, the sweet satyrian with the white flower, herba muscaria, lilium convallium, the apple-tree in blossom. In July come gilliflowers of all varieties, musk-roses, the lime-tree in blossom, early pears and plums in fruit, ginnitings, codlins. In August come plums of all sorts in fruit, pears, apricocks, barberries, filberts, musk-mellons, monks-hoods of all colours. In September come grapes, apples, poppies of all colours, peaches, melocotones, nectarines, cornelians, wardens, quinces. In October and the beginning of November come services, medlars, bullaces, roses cut or removed to come late, hollyhocks, and such like. These particulars are for the climate of London; but my meaning is perceived, that you may have *ver perpetuum* as the place affords.

And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air (where it comes and goes like the warbling of music), than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air. Roses, damask and red, are fast flowers of their smells; so that you may walk by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their sweetness; yea though it be in a morning's dew. Bays likewise yield no smell as they grow, rosemary little, nor sweet marjoram. That which above all other yields the sweetest smell in the air is the violet, specially the white double violet, which comes twice a year, about the middle of April and about Bartholomew-tide. Next to that is the musk-rose; then the strawberry-leaves dying, which [yield] a most excellent cordial smell then the flower of the vines,—it is a little dust, like the dust of a bent, which grows upon the cluster in the first coming forth; then sweet-briar; then wall-flowers, which are very delightful to be set under a

parlour or lower chamber window; then pinks and gilliflowers, specially the matted pink and clove gilliflowers; then the flowers of the lime-tree; then the honeysuckles, so they be somewhat afar off. Of been-flowers I speak not, because they are field-flowers. But those which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being trodden upon and crushed, are three: that is, burnet, wild thyme, and water mints. Therefore you are to set whole alleys of them, to have the pleasure when you walk or tread.

For gardens (speaking of those which are indeed princelike, as we have done of buildings), the contents ought not well to be under thirty acres of ground; and to be divided into three parts: a green in the entrance, a heath or desert in the going forth, and the main garden in the midest, besides alleys on both sides. And I like well that four acres of ground be assigned to the green, six to the heath, four and four to either side, and twelve to the main garden. The green hath two pleasures: the one because nothing is more pleasant to the eye than green grass kept finely shorn; the other, because it will give you a fair alley in the midst, by which you may go in front upon a stately hedge, which is to enclose the garden. But because the alley will be long, and in great heat of the year or day you ought not to by the shade in the garden by going in the sun through the green, therefore you are, of either side the green, to plant a covert alley, upon carpenter's work, about twelve foot in height, by which you may go in shade into the garden. As for the making of knots or figures with divers coloured earths, that they may lie under the windows of the house on that side which the garden stands, they be but toys; you may see as good sights many times in tarts. The garden is best to be square, encompassed on all the four side with a stately arched hedge; the arches to be upon pillars of carpenter's work, of some ten foot high and six foot broad, and the spaces between

of the same dimension with the breadth of the arch. Over the arches let there be an entire hedge of some four foot high, framed also upon carpenter's work; and upon the upper hedge, over every arch, a little turret with a balley enough to receive a cage of birds and over every space, between the arches, some other little figure, with broad plates of round coloured glass, gilt, for the sun to play upon. But this edge I intend to be raised upon a bank, not steep but gently slope, of some six foot, set all with flowers. Also I understand, that this square of the garden should not be the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on either side ground enough for diversity of side alleys, unto which the two covert alleys of the green may deliver you. But there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great enclosure; not at the hither end, for letting your prospect upon this fair hedge from the green; nor at the further end, for letting your prospect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath.

For the ordering of the ground within the great hedge, I leave it to variety of device; advising nevertheless that whatsoever form you cast it into, first it be not too busy, or full of work. Wherein I, for my part, do not like images cut out in juniper or other garden stuff; they be for children. Little low hedges, round, like welts, with some pretty pyramids, I like well; and in some places fair columns upon frames of carpenter's work. I would also have the alleys spacious and fair. You may have closer alleys upon the side grounds, but none in the main garden. I wish also, in the very middle, a fair mount, with three ascents, and alleys, enough for four to walk abreast; which I would have to be perfect circles, without any bulwarks or embossments; and the whole mount to be thirty foot high; and some fine banqueting-house, with some chimneys neatly cast, and without too much glass.

For fountains, they are a great beauty and refreshment; but pools mar all, and make the garden un-

wholesome and full of flies and frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two natures ; the one that sprinkleth or spouteth water : the other a fair receipt of water of some thirty or forty foot square, but without fish, or slime, or mũd. For the first, the ornament of images gilt or of marble, which are in use, do well : but the main matter is so to convey the water as it never stay, either in the bowls or in the cistern ; that the water be never by rest discoloured, green, or red, or the like, or gather any mossiness or purtrefaction. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the hand. Also some steps up to it, and some fine pavement about it, doth well. As for the other kind of fountain, which we may call a bathing-pool, it may admit much curiosity and beauty, wherewith we will not trouble overselves : as that the bottom be finally paved, and with images ; the sides likewise ; and withal emblished with coloured glass and such things of lustre ; encompassed also with fine rails of low status. But the main point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain ; which is, that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a water higher than the pool, and delivered into it by fair spouts, and then discharged away under ground, by some equally or bores, that it stay little. And for fine devices, of arching water without spilling, and makink it raise in several forms (of feathers, drinking-glasses, canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health, and sweetness.

For the health, which was third part of our plot, I with it to be framed as much as may be to a natural wildness. Trees I would have none in it, but some thickets made only of sweet briar and honeysuckle, and some wild vine amongst ; and the ground set with violets, strawberries, and primroses ; for these are sweet, and prosper in the shade ; and these to be in the heath, here and there, not in any order. I like also little heaps, in the nature of mole-hills (such as are in wild heaths), to be set, some with

wild thyme, some with pinks, some with germander that gives a good flower to the eye, some with periwinkle, some with violets, some with strawberries, some with cowslips, some with daises, some with red roses, some with lilium convallium, some with sweet-williams red some with bear's-foot, and the like low flowers, being withal sweet and sightly : part of which heaps to be withstandards of little bushes prickt upon their top, and part without : the standards to be roses, juniper, holly, barberries (but here and there, because of the smell of their blossom), red currants, gooseberries, rosemary, bays, sweet-briar, and such like : but these standards to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of course.

For the side grounds you are to fill them with variety of alleys, private, to give a full shade ; some of them, wheresoever the sűm be. You are to frame some of them likewise for shelter, that when the wind blows sharp you may walk as in a gallery. And those alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep out the wind ; and these closer alleys must be ever finely gravelled, and no grass, because of going wet. In many of these alleys likewise you are to set fruit-trees of all sorts, as well upon the walls as in ranges. And this should be generally observed, that the borders wherein you plant your fruit-trees be fair and large and low and not steep ; and set with fine flowers, but thin and sparingly, lest they decieve the trees. At the end of both the side grounds I would have a mount of some pretty height, leaving the wall of the enclosure breast-high, to look abroad into the fields.

For the main garden, I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys, ranged on both sides, with fruit-trees ; and some pretty tufts of fruit-trees and arbours with seats, set in some decent order ; but these to be by no means set too thick, but to leave the main garden so as it be not close but the air open and free. For as for shade, I would have you rest upon the alleys of the side grounds, there to

walk, if you be disposed, in the heat of the year or day; but to make account that the main garden is for the more temperate parts of the year, and in the heat of summer for the morning and the evening or overcast days.

For aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that largeness as they may be turfed and had living plants and bushes set in them; that the birds may have more scope and natural nestling, and that no foulness appear in the flour of the aviary. So I have made a platform of a princely garden, partly by precept, partly by drawing, not a model, but some general lines of it; and in this I have spared for no cost. But it is nothing for great princes, that for the most part, taking advice with workmen, with no less cost, set their things together; and sometimes add statuas and such things for state and magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a garden.

Notes and Explanations:

Spedding in his famous biography 'Francis Bacon and His Times' points out that Bacon had set aside a plot in his dwelling at Gorhambury for a garden "variously furnished and adorned for rest, exercise, and refreshment and pleasure of eye, ear, smell, taste, and spirits".

A Garden—it means the garden of Eden in which Adam and Eve lived.

The purest of human pleasures—pleasure which has no intermixture of any other passions; supremely pure pleasure.

Refreshments to the spirits of man—the sad and unhappy spirits of man get refreshed; they are vitalized.

Without which—without a garden. *Gross*—dull

Handyworks—works of the hand only, not having any beauty of nature about them.

Ages—the periods of human life.

Grow to civility and elegancy—become civilized and refined.

Stately—magnificently.

Men come to build . . . . garden finely—As human life becemes civilized and refined, there is a tendency to build magnificent houses but people ignore to plant beautiful gardens.

Hold it—believe it.

In the royal ordering of gardens—when kings order the laying out of gardens.

Severally—different.

Then in season—that are found in that season only.

Stoved—kept warm.

Warm set—planted against the warmth of the sun.

Perceived—understood.

A perpetual spring—you can keep your garden in a continuous state of growth and beauty.

In the air—in the atmosphere.

Warbling of music—notes of music.

That do best perfume the air—that produce the best fragrance.

Bartholomew tide—St. Bartholowmew's day is August 24th.

Cordial smell—pleasing smell.

Alleys of them—galleries of them ; rows of them.

A green in the entrance—entrance to a garden should be green.

Assigned—fixed for ; allotted.

Shorn—cut ; trimmed.

Covert—under cover ; sheltered.

Divers—different.

To be square—in a square piece of ground.

Encompassed—surrounded.

Stately—grand.

Arched hedge—semi-circular boundaries of plants.

Pillars of carpenter's work—pillars made by a carpenter.

Dimensions—size.

For the sun to play upon—for the reflection of sunlight.

Diversity of side alleys—different types of side galleries.

May deliver you—may take you.

For letting your prospect—it will interfere with your chance.

To variety of device—different kinds of planning.

Busy—elaborate; on a big scale.

Cast it into—put into.

Images çut in juniper or other garden stuff—figures of animals made by trimming juniper or other plants.

They be for children—they are meant for children.

Like welts—having edges.

Fair columns—lovely pillars.

Upon frames of carpenter's work—raised upon structures made hy a carpenter.

Spacious—wide.

A fair mount—a lovely piece of raised ground.

With three ascents—with three ways of climbing it.

To walk abreast—to walk side by side.

Embossments—projections in architecture..

Bulwark—rampart; boundary.

Banqueting-honse—dining place.

Chimneys—fire places.

Neatly cast—carefully prepared.

Pools—ponds of water with fish.

Mar all--ruin the beauty and loveliness.

Unwholesome--ugly ; dirty.

A fair receipt of water--that which receive enough water.

Slime - muddy earth.

For the first, the ornaments . . . . do well--for the decorations of first kind of fountains gilt images or marble images are good enough.

Main matter--main problem.

To convey the water--to carry the watter.

Either in the bowls--to the interior of a fountain.

Cistern--pond for storing water.

By rest--by lack of motion.

Gather any mossiness--gather any moss.

Putrefaction--go bad ; fester.

It may admit--it will be accepted ; it should be decorated.

Much curiosity and beauty--much art and embellishment.

It may admit . . . . beauty--it may be decorated with much beauty and art.

Wherewith we will not trouble ourselves--we will not discuss all that.

Bottom be finely paved--bottom of the foundation should be carefully prepared.

Embellished--decorated.

Things of lusture--things of beauty.

Encompassed with--surrounded by.

Rails--iron bars. *Low status*--of ordinary quality.

Fair spouts--fair good openings for water.

Equality of bores--having holes of equal dimensions.

Heath—piece of land covered with shrubs.

To be framed—to be planned.

To a natural wildness—it should have wild growth of shrubs as we have in nature.

Thickets - cluster of shrubs.

Prosper—grow.

Not in any order—not carefully arranged.

Here and there—scattered all over.

Heaps—mounds.

Sightly—lovely to see.

Pricked—planted.

Finely gravelled—sprinkled with sand and pieces of stone.

Because of going wet—so that you may not have to walk in the wet.

Of all sorts—of all kinds.

Sparingly—as few as possible.

Let they deceive the trees—so that they do not deprive the trees of their nourishment..

Mount—hillock ; a piece of raised ground.

Pretty height—fairly good height.

Ranged of both sides—prepared on both sides.

Arbour—bower ; shady retreats for rest.

Set too thick—arranged very close to each other.

Rest upon—depend upon.

Disposed—inclined.

But to make account—to take full care.

More temperate parts of the year—when there are no extremes of temperature, neither very hot nor very cold.

Over-cast days—cloudy and rainy days.

Aviaries—places for keeping birds.

Of that largeness—of that size.

Turfed—grass map be planted there.

Natural nestling—natural resting places and nests.

Foulness—dirt and slime.

Platform—model.

A princely garden—a majestic garden.

By precept—by discussion.

But some general lines of its—some general outlines of it are given.

Spared for no cost—it may be expensive.

Statuas—statues.

State—loveliness.

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20. OF NEGOTIATING

It is generally better to deal by speech than by letter; and by the mediation of a third than by a man's self. Letters are good when a man would draw an answer by letter back again; or when it may serve for a man's justification, afterwards to produce his own letter; or where it may be danger to be interrupted or heard by pieces. To deal in person is good when a man's face breedeth regard, as commonly with inferiors; or in tender cases, where a man's eye upon the countenance of him with whom he speaketh may give him a direction how for to go: and generally, where a man will reserve to himself liberty either to disavow or to expound. In choice of instruments, it is better to choose men of a plainer sort, that are like to do that, that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the success, than those that are cunning to contrive out of other man's business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in report, for satisfaction sake. Use also such persons as affect the business wherein they are employed, for that quickeneth much; and such as are fit for the matter, as bold men for expostulation, fair-spoken men for persuation, crafty men for inquiry and observation, forward and absurd men for business that doth not well bear out itself. Use also such as have been lucky and prevailed before in things wherein you have employed them for them; for that breeds confidence, and they will strive to maintain their prescription. It is better to sound a person with whom one deals afar off than to fall upon the point at first; except you mean to surprise him by some short question. It is better dealing with men in appetite than with those that are where they would

be. If a man deal with another upon conditions, the start or first performance is all ; which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such which must go before ; or else a man can persuade the other party that he shall still need him in some other thing ; or else that he be counted the honester man. All practice is to discover or to work. Men discover themselves in trust in passion, at unawares, and of necessity, when they would have somewhat done and cannot find an apt pretext. If you would work any man, you must either know his nature, and fashions, and so lead him ; or his ends, and so persuade him ; or his weakness, and disadvantages, and so awe him ; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him. In dealing with cunning persons, we must ever consider their ends, to interpret their speeches ; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all negotiations of difficulty, a man may not look to sow and reap at once ; but must prepare business, and to ripen it by degrees.

Notes and Explanations :

Man's self—personally ; in person ; himself.

A third—a third man ; middle man.

Justification-- defence ; proof of being right or true.

Interrupted—interfered with.

Face—presence ; personality.

Breedeth regard—inspires respect.

Tender—delicate.

Direction—guidance.

To deal in person......inferiors—it is better to settle matters or compound disputes by personal talk when a man's presence commands respect from an inferior person with whom negotiation is to be held.

Or in tender cases......to go—it is also advisable to have personal talk in delicate matters as it affords an opportunity to judge from the face of the party concerned about his inward feelings and favourable or unfavourable attitude, and whether and how far talk should be continued.

Disavow—deny ; repudiate ; disown.

Expound—interpret ; explain ; unsay.

Generally where... expound – the advantage of personal talk is this that one has the option to deny a previous oral commitment or put a different meaning on a former statement.

Instruments—tools ; messengers or middle men ; mediators.

Succees—result.

Faithfully –truly, without altering or mincing matters.

Contrive—manage ; devise.

Grace—benefit ; do good to.

For satisfaction sake—for the pleasure of the employer or to tickle his vanity.

The idea is that a man should choose a simple-hearted, sincere fellow to mediate in a dispute and not a clever man who tries to serve his own end or win favour by false and exaggerated report of the matter to please his employer.

Affect – are well disposed or inclined.

Quickeneth much—stimulates or impels them to work earnestly.

Such as......matter—such persons should be employed as can tactfully and ably handle the matter.

Expostulation—remonstrance.

Fair-spoken—who can speak well, gently and tactfully.

Forward—stubborn ; unyielding, perverse.

Absurd—unreasonable ; deaf to reason.

Business that......out itself—a work that brings discredit; discreditable business ; or what is difficult to accomplish or bring about, incapable to execution.

Prevailed—proved successful ; over-come difficulties.

Prescription—reputation ; name.

Strive to . . ..prescription—they will try to prove worthy of the confidence placed in them and maintain their reputation of previous successes.

Sound—enquire cautiously and tactfully in a reserved manner into the inclinations and sentiments of others.

Afar off—in a remote or indirect manner.

Men in appetite—those who want something ; needy persons.

That are......would be—those who hold the position they wish for ; those who are in a position of having everything they desire : affluent and contented men.

If a man deal......honester man—if a man asks another to do something for him on the condition that he (the former) will also do him a turn, then the question is how to convince him and make him take the inititative. He cannot reasonably press him for doing the thing first unless it be of urgent priority, or he can win his confidence by convincing him that he would require his services in another context also, or prove his honesty and integrity.

Practice—experience of negotiation.

Discover—know, elicit secrets.

Work—take work ; get work out of others ; influence.

Men discover......pretext—people disclose their secrets and show their real nature when they are in a mood of trusting or passion (anger, grief, pleasure, etc.) or when they speak thoughtlessly or under compulsion when they do something which they cannot disown being unable to find any excuse or pretence for it.

If you work......him—If you want a dealing with any man you must first know his character and habits to lead

him accordingly ; you must also be aware of his aims and persuade him in the light of these aims ; you should understand his weaknesses and demerits and threaten him with revealing his faults ; you must contact his friends, servants, enemies and neighbours who are interested in him, and gather information about him from them.

Consider their ends and......speeches—while dealing with cunning people you must try to guess their aims and understand the underlying object of their speech. Don't trust their actions which serve as screen over their intentions. They contrive to hide their aims through deceptive conduct and behaviour. It is better not to talk much to them, specially to keep mum regarding what they want to know eagerly.

Not look......degrees—while engaged to negotiations one must patiently wait for the result of one's efforts. The seeds of negotiation do not yield a ready and quick crop. We must labour enough to prepare the ground, work at it and let the crop grow and ripen slowly till it is fit for harvesting, i.e., the result of negotiations.

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21. OF STUDIES

Studies serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability. Their chief use for delight is in privateness and retiring; for ornament is in discourse; and for ability is in the judgement and disposition of business For expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars, one by one; but the general counsels, and the plots and marshalling of affairs, come best from those that are learned. To spend too much time in studies is sloth; to use them too much for ornament is affection; to make judgement wholly by their rules is the humour of a scholar. They perfect nature, and are perfected by experience: for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need pruning by study; and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men contemn studies; simple men admire them; and wise men use them: for they teach not their own use; but that is wisdom without them and above them, won by observation. Read not to contradict and confute; nor to believe and take for granted; nor to find talk and discourse; but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested: that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others: but that would be only in the less important arguments and the meaner sort of book; else distilled books are like common distilled waters, flashy things. Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man. And therefore,

if a man write little he had need have a great memory; if he confer little he had need have a present wit; and if he read little he had need have much cunning, to seem to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise; poets, witty; the mathematics, subtile; natural philosophy, deep; moral, grave; logic and rhetoric, able to contend. *Abeunt studia in mores.* Nay there is no stond or impediment in the wit but may be wrought out by fit studies: like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises. Bowling is good for the stone and reins; shooting for the lungs and breast; gentle walking for the stomach; riding for the head; and the like. So if man's wit be wandering, let him study the mathematics; for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again. If his wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences, let him study the schoolmen; for they are *Cymini sectores.* If he be not apt to beat over matters, and to call up one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyers' cases. So very defect of the mind may have a special receipt.

Notes and Explanations :

Serve for delight—give pleasures.

For ornament—add to man's capacity to speak well.

For ability—increase efficiency, knowledge and ability in business.

In privateness and retiring—when one is leading a private and retired life.

For ornament, is in discourse—in conversation studies make a brilliant and refined.

In the judgement and disposition of business—in doing one's business.

Exp. *Studies serve for delight......of business*—studies and reading of books give pleasure; they make our speech brilliant; they add to our efficiency in business. Studies

give us pleasure particularly when we are leading a private and retired life, away from much human company. Just as ornaments add to the beauty of a person, similarly studies add to the grace of one's speech. With good studies a person also becomes efficient in the conduct of his business.

Execute—perform.

Judge of particulars—make good judgements about particular things or aspects only.

But the general counsels... ..are learned—but a comprehensive approach to a problem with general advice and proper planning and arrangement of facts can come from a learned man only.

Plots—plans.

Sloth—laziness and idolence.

To use them too much for ornament—to use studies very much for the sake of brilliant talk and conversation.

Affectation—show and artificiality,

Wholly—completely.

Is the humour of a scholar—is the tendency of a scholar.

They—studies.

They perfect nature..........:.by experience—studies add to our understanding and by experience they gain weight and substance.

Natural abilities—inherent qualities.

That need proyning by study—that are to be given proper shape and form by studies, just as a gardener prunes natural plants.

Do give forth directions...........at large—studies give liberal outlook and general guidance.

Too much at large—general ; vague.

Be bounded in by experience—therefore they have to be controlled by and related to experience. In other words

studies in themselves are not enough ; they have to be related to practical experience of life to be made useful.

Bounded—controlled ; corrected.

Crafty—shrewd.

Contemn—condemn ; denounce.

Crafty men contemn studies—they give no value to studies because they think cleverness and cunning are better than studies.

For they teach not their own use—studies are not an end in themselves ; studies are not to be pursued for their own sake.

Exp. *But that is wisdom .. ..won by observation*—besides the knowledge acquired by studies, there is a wisdom in life which can be procured by experience only, and it is always a greater wisdom than the wisdom of studies.

To contradict and confute—to indulge in unnecessary arguments.

Take for granted—accept opinions without questioning them.

Nor to find talk and discourse—studies should not be pursued simply for the purpose of talk and conversation.

But to weigh and consider—but to judge matters from all angels.

Exp. *Crafty men.........to weigh and consider*—shrewd people attach no importance to studies because they think cunning and cleverness serve the purpose of life better. Simple men love to pursue studies because they give delight and add to understanding. Wise men put studies to proper use ; they derive fullness of judgment and outlook from them and apply the knowledge to life. Studies, however, are not an end in themselves ; they are not to be pursued for their own sake. There is a wisdom in life, which we cannot procure from studies, but from experience only. So studies have to be allied to experience. A person should not study simply to indulge in arguments or to accept things as they are. Nor should studies be simply used to

help him in talk and conversation. The chief advantage and purpose of studies is to give a man the power to consider the pros and cons of a problem and to arrive at some mature judgment.

Tasted—read lightly and in parts.

Swallowed—read hurriedly and not carefully.

To be chewed and digested—to be mastered in all details.

Curiously—carefully. *Wholly*—completely.

With diligence and attention—with hard work and care.

Exp. *Some books are to be tasted......diligence and attention*—All books are not equally important, therefore studies need discrimination and intelligence. Some books are useful in certain parts only and therefore they should be studied in parts and not wholly, tasting them here and there and not 'eating' the whole. Some books do not deserve careful and concentrated study ; we can go through them as hurriedly as one swallows food. There are some books which are to be read in full and with great care and labour.

May be read by deputy—by your assistant and you be told of its contents.

Extracts—summaries of important points.

Meaner sort of books—ordinary books.

Distilled books—from which all wisdom has gone out.

Flashy things—tasteless ; give no pleasure.

A full man—a man of mature understanding.

Conference—conversation and discussion.

An exact man—a man who is particular about all details.

Present wit—ready understanding.

Witty—ingenious.

Subtile—subtle.

Deep—wise.

Maral grave—moral studies make a person serious and learned.

Logic and rhetoric—the study of logic and the art of rhetoric.

Able to contend—able to argue.

Studies pass into the character—studies becom part of a man's character. So the nature of books we read will decide our character.

Stonds - hinderances.

Impediments—obstalces.

Wit—mind.

But may be wrought out by fit studies—whatever be the nature of obstacles and confusions in the mind, they can all be driven out by proper kind of reading.

Like as diseases...........appropriate exercises—just as for every disease of the body there is a proper exercise to cure it, similarly for every deficiency of the mind, there is a kind of reading which will lead to improvement and fullness.

Bowling—playing at bowls.

For the stone—if there is stone in the body.

Shooting—it means here archery.

If a man's wit be wandering—if a man's mind lack concentration.

Called away—diverted.

Never so little—no matter how little.

The schoolmen—The name is given to the philosophers of the middle ages. The scholastic philosophy was an application of the logic of Aristotle to the development and explanation of the doctrines of Christianity. This school was in force from 9th century to the 14th.

If he be not apt to beat over matters—if he is not capable enough to search carefully from point to point.

To call up—to remember.

The lawyers' cases—because the successful practise of law demands calling up past cases to illustrate and prove the point under discussion.

Have a special receipt—similarly every deficiency of the mind may be made up by a special kind of reading.

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22. OF VAIN GLORY

It was prettily devised of Aesop. *The fly sat upon the axle-tree of the chariot-wheel and said, what a dust do I raise.* So are there some vain persons that, whatsoever goeth alone or moveth upon greater means, if they have never so little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are glorious must needs be factious; for all bravery stands upon comparisons. They must needs be violent to make good their own vaunts. Neither can they be secret, and therefore not effectual; but according to the French proverb *Beaucoup de bruit, peu de fruit* : *much bruit, little fruit.* Yet certainly there is use of this quality in civil affairs. Where there is an opinion and fame to be created, either of virtue or greatness, these men are good temperatures. Again, as Titus Livius noteth in the case of Antiochus and the Aetolians, *there are sometimes great effects of cross lies*; as if a man that negotiates between two princes, to draw them to join in a war against the third, doth extol the forces of either of them above measure, the one to other: and sometimes he that deals between man and man raiseth his own credit with both by pretending greater interest than he hath in either. And in these and the like kinds it often falls out that somewhat is produced of nothing; for lies are sufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on substance. In military commanders and soldiers, vain glory is an essential point; for as iron sharpens iron, so by glory one courage sharpeneth another. In cases of great enterprise, upon charge and adventure, a composition of glorious natures doth put life into business; and those that are of solid and sober natures have more of the ballast than of the sail. In fame

of learning, the flight will be slow without some feathers of ostentation. *Qui de contemnenda gloria libors scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt.* Socrates, Aristotle, Galon, were men full of ostentation. Certainly vain glory helpeth to perpetuate a man's-memory; and virtue was never so beholding to human nature as it received his due at the second hand. Neither had the fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, borne her age so well if it had not been joined with some vanity in themselves; like unto varnish, that makes seeling not only shine but last. But all this while, when I speak of glory, I mean not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus, *Omnium quae dixerat feceratque, arte quadam ostentator*: for that proceeds not of vanity, but of natural magnanimity and discretion, and in some persons is not only comely, but gracious. For excusations, cessions, modesty itself well governed, are but arts of ostentation. And amongst those arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of; which is to be liberal of praise and commendation to others in that wherein a man's self hath any perfection. For saith Pliny very wittily. *In commending another you do yourself right; for he that you commend is either superior to you in that you commend, or inferior. If he be inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more: if he be superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less.* Glorious men are the scorn of wise men, the admiration of fools, the idols of parasites, and the slaves of their own vaunts.

Notes and Explanations :

Devised of—devised or imagined by.

What a dust......raise—it is I who am raising a storm of dust and not the wheels of the chariot.

It implies boastfulness or vain-glory of small creatures who ascribe to themselves the exploits and achievements

of others, as the fabulous fly of Aesop claimed the credit of moving the chariot and raising a dust storm.

Alone—by itself ; without help of others.

Upon greater means—is accomplished by more powerful agency.

They carry it—they accomplish or carry it out.

Glorious—boastful.

Facti us—affected ; unnatural ; showy.

Bravery—boastfulness. .

Stands upon comparisons—finds expression through depreciation or derision of others to whom they prefer themselves by comparison.

Violent—aggressive and unjustly harsh.

To make good their vaunts—to prove their boasts ; to impress the truth of their false boasts.

Effectual—impressive.

Bruit—noise.

Much bruit little fruit—much noise without any result ; noisy people who boast aloud command no attention or effect because they make much ado about nothing.

Civil—political, state or public.

Trumpeter—one who goes about singing praises of some ; body ; propogandist.

Antiochus—king of Syria in the second century B.C.

Aetolians—a tribe in Greece.

Cross lies—lies told to each of the two parties about the other.

Extol—praise exaggeratedly ; over-estimate.

Above measure—too much.

Interest—affection : goodwill.

Falls out—happens.

Somewhat is produced of nothing—some tangible result accrues from mere lies.

Substance—something real and solid.

The reference is to the part played by the Aetolian Thous in creating revolt against Rome. He exaggerated the power of the Greeks in his negotiation with Antiochus and impressed upon him their readiness to revolt against Rome while he extolled the forc s of Antiochus and his determination to rebel against the authority of Rome. Thus he incited both to join together in a war against Rome. The cross lies created a real situation out of nothing.

Glory—boast.

By one glory......another—if one commander boasts of some feat of bravery or exploit, it encourages another to perform greater feats and surpass the other in reputation.

Composition—combination.

Glorious—boastful.

Doth put life into the business—makes war a real and living thing; there is great stir and zeal about fighting.

Ballast—heavy material placed in the hold of the ship to keep balance; prudence and principles that lend stability to character.

Sail—implies zeal and action; rashness; spirit of adventure and enterprise.

In cases of great......of the sail—in risky undertakings rash and boastful persons are a necessity. They are men of action and don't hesitate or ponder like solid and sober persons who lack courage. Their prudence and experience impede action and execution of a plan. They serve as a ballast in a ship while boasters and adventurers act like a sail that moves the ship.

In fame of......ostentation—a learned man cannot quickly win fame without some degree of show and vain glory.

Socrates claimed knowledge which he did not possess. So he was boastful.

Aristotle condemned ancient sages and scholars and their philosophy without naming them and thus tried to boast of his own learning and philosophy and create a band of followers and disciples who could shower praises upon him. Thus he was vain glorious.

Similarly Galen, a writer on medicine in the 2nd century A.D. introduced new and novel theories refuting old ones and thus built his reputation upon tne ruins of others' renown and fame. So he too was a braggart.

Beholden—indebted.

Virtue was......second hand—virtue (or virtuous people) owes its fame to glory or boastfulness and not to human nature i.e. virtue itself. Self-praise is essential for honour and name. Virtue or goodness for its sake remains in oblivion.

Had borne her age—would have survived or lasted.

Vanity—vain glory ; boastfulness ; pride ; self-conceit.

Cicero—boasted of his services to his country.

Seneca—was too presumptuous and selt-complacent as is evident from his letters.

Plinius—showed independence of spirit and took pride in opposing powerful men. In one of his letters he refers to the compliment paid to him by King Nerve who called him the 'Honour of the Age'.

Seeling—ceiling.

Just as varnish not only brightens up a ceiling, but makes it more lasting or durable, similarly, praise and fame make a man shine in glory and perpetuate his memory.

Displaying himself......advantage—made a show of his qualities and praised himself as a virtuous man and won fame.

The idea is that Mucianus was a great politician.

He had the knack of claiming virtues which he lacked and this won him fame and honour from the ignorant and simple masses though men of wisdom could not accept his

boasts. But popularity among the people at large prevailed over the disdain of the few. Thus boastfulness or vanity does pay if it be not carried to excess.

Magnanimity—greatness of mind.

Discretion—wisdom ; judgment ; prudence.

Vanity— unreasonable pride ; pride of a virtue one does not possess ; vain glory.

Comely—beautiful ; attractive.

Gracious—graceful ; winning approval.

Excusations—excuses ; apologies.

Cessions—concessions ; favours.

Modesty—humility ; moderation.

Well governed—proper ; not excessive.

Ostentation—show ; boastfulness ; glory.

Wittily—ingeniously.

Parasites—dependents ; flatterers.

Glorious men... ..vaunts—Boastful or vain-glorious men are halted by wise men, admired by fools, worshipped by flatterers and easily led ints self-praise.

23. OF DELAYS.

Fortune is like the market; where many times, if you can stay a little, the price will fall. And again, it is sometimes like Sibylla's offer; which at first offereth the commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the price. For occasion (as it is in the common verse) *turneth a bald noddle, after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken*; or at least turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received, and after the belly, which is hard to clasp. There is surely no greater wisdom than well to time the beginnings and onsets of things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light; and more dangers have deceived men than forced them. Nay, it were better to meet some dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their approaches; for if a man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived with too long shadows (as some have been when the moon was low and shone on their enemies' back), and so to shoot off before the time: or to teach dangers to come on, by over-early buckling towards them; is another extreme. The ripeness or unripeness of the occasion (as we said) must ever be well weighed; and generally it is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argus with his hundred eyes, and the ends to Briareus with his hundred hands; first to watch, and then to speed. For the helmet of Pluto, which maketh the politic man go invisible, is secrecy in the counsel and celerity in the execution. For when things are once come to the execution, there is no secrecy comparble to celerity; like the motion of a bullet in the air, which flieth so swift as it outruns the eye.

Notes and Explanations :

Stay—wait.

Sibylla's offer—according to a Roman legend, Sibylla was an old Prophetess said to be the daughter of Appolo. She offered nine books to King Tarquin II and demanded gold equal to the weight of the books as price. The King refused to purchase. She went away, burnt three of the books and returned to ask for the same price. The King again refused She burnt three books more and came back with the remaining books but demanded the original price of nine. The King was surprised. He consulted his augur and purchased the books for they contained an account of the future destiny of Rome.

Occasion—opportunity.

Noddle—head.

For occasion turneth..... taken—opportunity (Time) is compared to an old man having only fore locks or hair in front of his bald head. Hence the proverb 'Take time by the fore-lock'. If you donot catch time by the fore-lock, it will turn its bald head which is difficult to hold. Hence a chance once missed will not come back. An opportunity presents itself once and if you don't catch it or let it slip away, you cannot catch hold of it again.

Handle of the...clasp—handle of a bottle like the fore-lock can be easily held and the belly of the bottle like a bald head cannot be grasped. The idea is the same. There is time for every opportunity to be availed of.

Well to time...things—things should be begun and executed at the right time.

Onset—attack.

Dangers are...forced them—danger becomes great and serious if we under estimate it and think lightly of it. But a danger is decreased when we think it to be great and prepare to meet it. We are generally deceived by a danger that seems to be light and we don't act seriously to overcome it till it looms large and upsets us.

Foi ıf a man......fall asleep—if a man grows slack and minimizes the extent of danger before him, he would pro-

bably become careless and blind to the danger like a watchman who falls asleep after a long watch. The idea is that we should not hesitate or wait but act immediately to meet an approaching danger.

It is odds—chances are, most probably.

Too long shadows—it implies imaginary dangers, or exaggerated troubles.

Shoot off before the time—act before proper time. The idea is that we should neither be little an approaching danger nor exaggerate or overestimate it.

Over-early buckling—too early preparation to meet the danger.

Extreme—great fault.

Argus a giant with hundred eyes in Greek mythology. He was set as guard by Juno over her rival Lo.

Briareus—a giant with hundred hands who helped Jupiter in his war with Titaus.

It is good so......hands—it is wise on the part of a man to watch and weigh a situation and then hurry to act and meet it. Decision on a certain course should take enough time and consideration but action on it should be speedy and prompt.

Helmet of Pluto—Pluto, god of the lower world, had a helmet which made the wearer invisible.

Politic man—politician, statesman.

Celerity—speed.

For the helmet of......execution—a politician's helmet of Pluto which screens from his enemies is his secrecy about planning and deciding but bullet-like speed in carrying out a decision. This speed should be so fast like a bullet that nobody can realize it till the decision is accomplished or target hit. Thus secrecy in counsel and speed in action serve the same purpose—that of the Helmet of Pluto.

There is no secrecy......celerity—at the time of execution or carrying out a purpose, speed is more important than secrecy or speed is the best type of secrecy, which gives no time to the enemy to see or consider and hits his brain as a bullet hits a target in no time being invisible in the course of its flight.

Out-runs the eye—the eye cannot follow it.

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24. OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS.

Costly followers are not to be liked ; lest while a man maketh his train longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and importune in suits Ordinary followers ought to challenge no higher conditions than countenance, recommendation, and protection from wrongs. Factious followers are worse to be liked, which follow not upon affection to him with whom they range themselves, but upon discontentment conceived against some other ; whereupon commonly ensueth that ill intelligence that we many times see between great personages. Likewise glorious followers, who make themselves as trumpets of the commendation of those they follow, are full of inconvenience ; for they taint business through want of secrecy ; and they export honour from a man, and make him a return in envy. There is a kind of followers likewise which are dangerous, being indeed espials ; which inquire the secrets of the house, and bear tales of them to others. Yet such men, many times, are in great favour ; for they are officious, and commonly exchange tales. The following by certain estates of men, answerable to that which a great person himself professeth, (as of soldiers to him that hath been employed in the wars, and the like,) hath ever been a thing civil, and well taken even in monarchies ; so it be without too much pomp or popularity. But the most honourable kind of following is to be followed as one that apprehendeth to advance virtue and desert in all sorts of persons. And yet, where there is no eminent odds in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, than with the more able. And besides, to speak truth, in base times

active men are of more use than virtuous. It is true that in government it is good to use men of one rank equally : for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent ; because they may claim a due. But contrariwise, in favour, to use men with much difference and election is good ; for it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious : because all is of favour. It is good discretion not to make too much of any man at the first ; because one cannot hold out that proportion. To be governed (as we call it) by one, is not safe ; for it shows softness, and gives a freedom to scandal and disreputation ; for those that would not censure or speak ill of a man immediately will talk more boldly of those that are so great with them, and thereby wound their honour. Yet to be distracted with many is worse ; for it makes men to be of the last impression, and full of change To take advice of some few friends is ever honourable ; for lookers-on many times see more than gamesters ; and the vale best discovereth the hill. There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between superior and inferior, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

Notes and Explanations :

Train—long or conspicuous tail or bird ; body of followers, retinue.

While a man .....shorter—if a man keeps a large number of dependents, they will hamper or impede his progress as the tail of a peacock prevents him from flight.

Which charge the purse—who prove a burden on the purse, i.e., expensive.

Importune—importunate ; persistent or pressing in solicitation.

Suits— petitions ; requests.

Challenge—claim ; dema

Countenance—goodwill,

Ordinary—unpaid.

Ordinary followers .....wrongs—ordinary followers who are not in regular employ should not expect from their patron more than his good-will (moral support), recommendation and protection from injustice.

Factious followers—followers or supporters of a party ; supporters with partisan spirit.

Upon affection—out of sympathy or allegiance.

Range—side.

Upon—owing to.

Ensueth—results.

Ill intelligent—misunderstanding.

Glorious—boasting ; bragging.

Make themselves .....follow—go about singing the praises of their patron.

Taint—spoil ; bring discredit to.

Want of—lack of.

Export honour......him—diminish his honour, detract from his reputation.

Make him......envy—excite envy of others as a result ; make people envious or jealous of him.

Espials—spies.

Officious—anxious to serve and oblige.

Exchange tales—talk about scandals ; give malicious reports about others with evil intention, as they carry their master's secrets to others.

Estates—ranks ; orders ; classes.

Answerable—corresponding ; like or similar.

The following—followers.

Civil—befitting, a citizen ; becoming.

Well taken—tolerated gracefully ; approved.

The following......monarchies—if certain classes of men have their dependents or followers like a great personage or prince it is not inconsistent with the subordinate position of a citizen but becomes him and is approved or not objected to even by monarchies who are most jealous of a rival.

Popularity—anxiety to be popular ; courting favour of the people.

Apprehendeth—understands ; knows how to.

Desert merit ; right.

But the most......persons—but that patron is most honoured, who possesses discretion enough to promote the interests of people according to their talent, virtue and merit.

Sufficiency—ability.

Eminent odds—extraordinary or distinctive difference.

Take with—employ.

Passable—common place ; so and so.

Where there ...more able—if a talented man of extraordinary degree is not available, then it is better to employ a common-place person than an abler one.

Base times—bad times ; degenerate situations,

Countenance—favour.

Due—right.

Contrariwise—on the other hand.

In favour—in matters of personal favour and interest apart from position as ruler (in government).

Use men......good—it is good to treat men differently and discriminately.

Election—choice ; discrimination.

Officious—anxious or ready to serve.

All is of favour—wholly a question of personal concern and favour ; not a matter of right as in government ; a ruler can favour and show discrimination in his personal capacity.

Make too much of—show undue or excessive favour.

Hold out that proportion—continue that measure of favour ; the same excessive favour shown in the beginning cannot last long.

To be governed by one......safe—to be under the thumb or absolute control and influence of one man is not feasible for a prince.

Softness—weakness ; leniency.

Gives a......disreputation—too much indulgence shown to an individual by a ruler or patron lets loose malicious and false tales and brings a slur or discredit upon him.

Immediately—just nearby or in the face (of the patron.)

Boldly—indecently and fearlessly.

That are......them—who command great respect and influence with them (patrons or princes.)

Wound their honour—injure their name and reputation.

The idea is that people will spread scandals, speak ill of the favourits and thereby lower the patrons in public eye.

Distracted—confused ; put in a fix.

Of the last impression—being impressed or influenced by the last adviser.

Full of change—vacillating ; fickle in mind ; inconstant.

Yet to be......change—though to patronize one man is bad yet to be confused and worried by many advisers is even worse as it makes a man fickle and indecisive and accept a wrong advice given last of all.

Lookers on......gamesters—spectators see and appreciate the game more than the players engaged in the game.

Similarly friends from outside can better advise than the counsellors actually involved in the affairs.

The vale......the hill—a man standing in the valley has a better and broader view of a hill than the climber busy ascending it.

Magnified—exaggerated ; shown more than what it actually is.

Comprehend—include.

The idea is that friendship is rare. It is not possible at all between equals because of rivalry and jealousy. Moreover, it is pretended and exaggerated. Friendship between a superior and an inferior can exist as there is no rivalry and they share each other's welfare and prosperity.

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25. OF SUITORS

Many ill matters and projects are undertaken; and private suits do putrefy the public good. Many good matters are undertaken with bad minds; I mean not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds, that intend not performance. Some embrace suits, which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they see there may be life in the matter by some other mean, they will be content to win a thank, or take a second reward, or at least to make use in the mean time of the suitor's hopes. Some take hold of suits only for an occasion to cross some other; or to make an information whereof they could not otherwise have apt pretext; without care what become of the suit when that turn is served; or, generally, to make other men's business a kind of entertainment to bring in their own. Nay some undertake suits, with a full purpose to let them fall; to the end to gratify the adverse party or competitor. Surely there is in some sort a right in every suit; either a right in equity, if it be a suit of controversy; or a right of desert, if it be a suit of petition. If affection lead a man to favour the wrong side in justice, let him rather use his countenance to compound the matter than to carry it. If affection lead a man to favour the less worthy in desert, let him do it without depraving or disabling the better deserver. In suits which a man doth not well understand, it is good to refer them to some friend of trust and judgment, that may report whether he may deal in them with honour: but let him choose well his referendaries, for else he may be led by the nose. Suitors are so distasted with delays and abuses, that plain dealing in denying to deal in suits at first, and reporting the success barely, and

in challenging no more thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only honourable but also gracious. In suits of favour, the first coming ought to take little place : so far forth consideration may be had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise have been had but by him, advantage be not taken of the note, but the party left to his other means ; and in some sort recompensed for his discovery. To be ignorant of the value of a suit is simplicity ; as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof is want of conscience. Secrecy in suits is a great mean of obtaining ; for voicing them to be in forwardness may discourage some kind of suitors, but doth quicken and awake others. But timing of the suit is the principal. Timing, I say, not only in respect of the person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a man, in the choice of his mean, rather choose the fittest mean than the greatest mean ; and rather them that deal in certain things, than those that are general. The reparation of a denial is sometimes equal to the first grant ; if a man show himself neither dejected nor discontented. *Iniquum petas ut aequum feras,* [*ask more than is reasonable, that you may get as much as is reasonable,*] is a good rule, where a man hath strength of favour : but otherwise a man were better rise in his suit ; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the suitor, will not in the conclusion lose both the suitor and his own former favour. Nothing is thought so easy a request to a great person, as his letter ; and yet, if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation. There are no worse instruments than these general contrivers of suits ; for they are but a kind of poison and infection to public proceedings.

Notes and Explanations :

Ill—bad.

Putrefy - go bad, rot ; here used transitively meaning to harm or damage.

Private suits .....good—private petitions pressed for acceptance through illegal meams harm the public interest.

Bad minds—evil intentions.

That intend no performance—only pretend to do something while in fact they don't like to do anything.

Embrace suits—undertake to get petitions granted.

Second - secondary, as the second man to have helped.

But if they see ...hopes—some cunning people don't want to help but when they see that a suit is likely to succeed through some other man or source, they will pretend to have done something to earn thanks or some secondary reward ; or in the mean time hold out hopes of success to the partv and get something out of him.

Take hold of—undertake.

Only for an ......some other—crafty people sometimes press forward others' petitions only because it affords them a chance to oppose or climinate somebody else from the field.

To make an......pretext—to report against somebody, which was not otherwise possible or for which there was no proper or plausible excuse.

Without care .....served—after they have served their end or ground their axe, they don't pursue and care for the petition or suit, be it accepted or rejected.

Entertainment—introduction ; excuse ; stepping stone.

To make......their own—they undertake to do other's business only as a means to their own end.

With a full purpose .....them fall—with determination or complete resolve to bring about failure or rejection of the suit.

To the end .....competitor—with a view to please the opposite party of rival.

Sort—way.

Either a right..... of petition—there is a right in every suit claimed by a suitor. If the suit is controversial, the

suitor claims right of justice, i.e., he wants the case to be decided according to the dictates of justice ; and if it be a petition only and no other party is involved, the petitioner claims the right of merit, i. e., he wants the petition to be heard and granted purely on grounds of merit.

Affection—sentiment ; inclination or feeling.

Depraving or disabling—disparaging or condemning outright.

If affection lead.... . deserves—if a judge or arbitrator is prejudiced in favour of the wrong party, he should use his influence for a compromise between the two parties rather than give a partial verdict absolutely. If he desires to favour the less deserving, he should do it without condemning or disparaging the character of the more deserving party.

May deal in them with honour—may handle or decide the suits honourably or equitably.

Referendaries—advisers to whom the suit is referred for consultation ; persons referred to.

He may .....by the nose—if the advisers are not well chosen, i.e., are men of influence and power over him, he may act unjustly according to their dictates ; he may be compelled to do injustice by blindly following their advice.

Distasted—disgusted ; fed up with.

Abuse—malpractice ; corruption.

Denying—refusing.

Gracious—entitled to thanks.

Plain dealing......gracious—suitors should be plainly told that their suits will not be taken up first but in proper turn, and the success of their efforts should be truly conveyed to the suitors by those who undertake to help them, i.e., the suitors should not be fed with false hopes and only that much should be claimed from them, which they deserve for what they have done. This attitude on the

part of helpers of suitors will bring credit and honour to them besides gratitude.

In suits of favour—petitions based on appeal for favour and not claim of right.

The first coming......place—weight or importance should not be given to any petition simply because it was presented first of all. It should be granted or rejected on merit.

Consideration—regard.

So far for the consideration......his discovery—if a petitioner whose petition is rejected supplies us an information which could not have by other means been obtained, we should not take undue advantage of the information but on the contrary he should be rewarded for divulging the secret.

Value—merit.

To be ignorant of the right......conscience—to ignore justice and deprive a suitor of his right shows that the judge or the authority concerned lacks conscience.

Mean of obtaining—means of procuring the grant of petition ; way to obtain success in a suit.

Voi ing them......awake others—if a petitioner proclaims loudly but wrongly that he is going on well with the suit it may frustrate some of the rivals but it will also stimulate the jealousy of others and rouse them to greater effort.

Principal—main thing.

Like—likely.

Timing, I say... . to cross it—a suit should be presented when the person to whom the suit is presented is in a good mood and when opponents or persons likely to oppose the suit are unaware or off their guard.

Mean—the person chosen to present and plead for the suit ; petitioner's agent.

Rather them......general—a suitor should choose for help some specialist who is experienced and expert in particular

matters rather than one who is jack of all trades but master of none.

Reparation—compensatien ; making good the loss; making amends for previous omission.

Reparation of denial......discontented—if a suitor gracefully or good-humouredly takes his failure of the petition, he will feel fully compensated when his petition is granted a second time, as if it were not rejected the first time.

Health strength of favour—is in the good books of his patron.

A man were better .....his suit—a suitor is well advised to proceed slowly with his demand. At first he should ask for a little favour. When this favour is granted, he should raise his demand for further concession and thus obtain full grant by slow degrees.

For he that......former favour—if a patron grants a petition and wins the good will of the petitioner, he will also grant his subsequent requests lest he should lose the suitor as well as the credit of former favour.

Letter—testimonial ; recommendatory letter.

Yet if it be......reputation—if a letter of recommendation is misused for a bad cause, it brings discredit to the person who issued it and lowers his reputation.

Contrivers of suits—who manage to press forward people's petitions ; undertakers or agents of suitors.

There are no worse......public proceedings—people who issued testimonials indiscriminately to press forward other's claim without regard to merit are the worst type of agents who harm public interests and progress.

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26. OF FACTION

Many have an opinion not wise, that for a prince to govern his estate, or for a great person to govern his proceedings, according to the respect of factions, is a principal part of policy; whereas contrariwise, the chiefest wisdom is either in ordering those things which are general, and wherein men of several factions do nevertheless agree; or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons, one by one. But I say not that the consideration of factions is to be neglected. Mean men, in their rising, must adhere; but great men, that have strength in themelves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and neutal. Yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as he be a man of the one faction which is most passable with the other, commonly giveth best way. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction; and it is often seen that a few that are stiff do tire out a greater number that are more moderate. When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth; as the faction between Lucullus and the rest of the nobles of the senate (which they called *optimates*) held out a while against the faction of Pompey and Caesar; but when the senate's authority was pulled down, Caesar and Pompey soon after brake. The faction or party of Antonius and Octavianus Caesar against Brutus and Cassius, held out likewise for a time; but when Brutus and Cassius were overthrown then soon after Antonius and Octavianus brake and subdivided. These examples are of wars, but the same holdeth in private factions. And therefore those that are second in factions do many times, when the faction subdivideth, prove principals; but many times also they prove cyphers and cashiered;

for many a man's strength is in opposition; and when that faileth he groweth out of use. It is commonly seen that men once placed take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter: thinking belike that they have the first sure, and now are ready for a new purchase. The traitor in faction lightly goeth away with it; for when matters have stuck long in balancing, the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage between two factions proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueness to a man's self, with end to make use of both. Certainly in Italy they hold it a little suspect in popes, when they have often in their mouth *Padre commune*: and take it to be a sign of one that meaneth to refer all to the greatness of his own house. Kings had need beware how they side themselves, and make themselves as of a faction or party; for leagues within the state are ever pernicious to monarchies: for they raise an obligation paramount to obligation of sovereignty, and make the king *tanquam unus ex nobis [as one of us]*, as was to be seen in the League of France. When factions are carried too high and too violently, it is a sign of weakness in princes; and much to the prejudice both of their authority and business. The motions of factions under kings ought to be like the motions (as the astronomers speak) of the inferior orbs, which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of *primum mobile*.

Notes and Explanations:

Estate—state; kingdom.

According to the respect of factions—with an eye to the interests and wishes of parties; heeding the interests of powerful parties in the state only.

Ordering—managing or arranging.

General—of general or common interest to the people, and majority of the members of the parties.

Whereas contrariwise......by one—on the other hand the best policy for a ruler is to keep in mind and work for the common good or welfare of all parties, i.e., adopt such measures whereon all opposing parties agree ; or deal with individuals separately one after the other and bring them round to common ground.

With correspondance to—in a manner appropriate to.

Mean men—men of low position ; humble men.

Adhere—be a follower of some party.

In their rising—while in life, or in order to rise from low to high position.

Passable—tolerable ; acceptable.

Were better—had better maintain.

Indifferent—impartial.

Giveth the best way—is the best means to success.

Yet even in......best way—it is the best course for a man who is beginning his carrer to join one party but be a moderate member so that he may be friendly towards another and be welcome if occassion arises.

Firmer in conjunction—stronger in conviction or settled opinion or community of interest and faith.

Weaker—smaller in number of members.

The lower and......moderate—a smaller party is more united in common aim and its members, though fewer, are so strong or fanatic in their conviction and steadfast in their aim that they prevail over a large number of moderate views.

Luculls—well-known Roman general, a member of the party of the Senate against the Democrates which included Caesar and Pompey.

Optimates—members of the Senate or the nobles ; party like the Lords of the English Parliament.

Brake—broke ; subdivided.

The idea is that after the overthrow of the Roman Senate Caesar and Pompey came into power. But later Pompey became jealous of Caesar who got him murdered. Pompey after deserting Caesar had joined the Senate and incited it to war against Caesar.

Antonius Octavianus Caesar—Brutus and Cassius conspired against Caesar and murdered him.

Antonius and Octavianus joined together against the leaders of the plot and over-threw them. When the field was clear of the enemies, relations between Octavian Caesar and Mark Antony became strained and their friendship broke down. This resulted in a war and Mark Antony committed suicide after his defeat. Octavianus became the supreme Emperor of Rome with the title of Augustus.

Second—one holding secondary or subordinate position; subordinate.

Principal—person of great or chief importance; leader or head.

Cashiered—deposed or discraded.

Cyphers—non-entities; nobodies.

For many a man's......out of use—when a party breaks down leaving only the other in the field sometimes members who hold subordinate position rise and become leaders but sometimes subordinates are discarded altogether because they lose their importance as their support is not needed against the opposition party which has been liquidated. Some subordinate people owe their strength to the existence of an opposing party and if the opposition fails or breaks down, they become useless and unimportant, as their votes are no longer needed.

Once placed—as soon as they obtain the position aspired after.

Take in with—side with.

Belike—likely; probably.

New purchase—for something more; for greater advantage.

Lightly—easily.

Goeth away with it—carries off the prize.

Struck long—lingered on for a long time.

In the balancing—both the parties being equally strong and well-matched.

Casteth—decides.

The idea is that when there is equal balance of power between two opposing parties, a traitor or turncoat leaving one side and joining the other serves as a casting vote and decides the issue. Thus he wins the whole credit and becomes important.

Even carriage—neutrality.

Of moderation—from moderation or ordinary cause; smoothly.

Of trueness to man's self—from self-interest.

With end to make use of both—with a view to exploit or take undue advantage of both the parties.

Suspect—suspicious about.

Padre commune—common father or the father of all.

Pernicious—harmful; troublesome.

Paramount to—above.

For they raise......tanquam unus.

If a king sides with a particular party, he lowers his position as sovereign and follows the policy of others who think him to be one of themselves and thus loses the confidence of the people.

Therefore a king should be above parties and perfectly neutral.

Tanquam unus—one of ourselves; a member of the party.

The League of France—The Holy League which was formed by the Duke of Guise in 1576 for the defence of Catholics against the Protestants but with the ulterior

motive of ascending the French throne after deposing Henery III. The French King joined the League as its head in order to safe-guard his kingship.

To the prejudice of—against the interests of.

Business—administration.

Motions—policies.

Proper—own.

Primum Mobile—first moved ; the ancient astronomers believed that several heavenly bodies moved round the earth, the outermost of these spheres being called the primum mobile. This primum mobile moves first and carries the other inferior orbs moving along with it. The king is the primum mobile and the nobles or powerful persons and parties in the state, are inferior spheres moving under the force and influence of the primum mobile or the king. The King should be the main motive force and his will should prevail in state matters. Of course, minor affairs or policies may be in the hands of nobles or parties like the motions of the inferior orbs or spheres.

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27. OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS

He that is only real, had need exceeding great parts of virtue ; as the stone had need to be rich that is set without foil. But if a man mark it is in praise and commendation of men as it is in gettings and gains : for the proverb is true, *That light gains make heavy purses*; for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then. So it is true that small matters win great commendation, because they are continually in use and in note : whereas the occasion of any great virtue cometh but on festivals. Therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation, and is (as Queen Isabella said) like perpetual letters commendatory, to have good forms. To attain them it almost sufficeth not to despise them ; for so shall a man obseve them in others ; and let him trust himself with the rest. For if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their grace ; which is to be natural and unaffected. Some men's behaviour is like a verse, wherein every syllable is measured ; how can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too much to small observations ? Not to use ceremonies at all is to teach others not to use them again ; and so diminisheth respect to himself ; especially they be not to be omitted to strangers and formal natures but the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminish the faith and credit of him that speaks. And certainly there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting passages amongst compliments which is of singular use, if a man can hit upon it. Amongst a man's peers a man shall be sure of familiarity ; and therefore it is good a little to keep state. Amongst a man's inferiors one shall be sure of reverence ;

and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in any thing, so that he giveth another occasion of satiety, maketh himself cheap. To apply one's self to others is good; so it be with demonstration that a man doth it upon regard, and not upon facility. It is a good precept generally in seconding another, yet to add somewhat of one's own: as if you will grant his opinion, let it be with some distinction; if you will follow his motion, let it be with condition; if you allow his counsel, let it be with alleging further reason. Men had need beware how they be too perfect in compliments; for be they never so sufficient otherwise, their enviers will be sure to give them that attribut, to the disadvantage of their greater virtues. It is loss also in business to be too full of respects, or to be curious in observing times and opportunities. Salomon saith, *He that considereth the wind shall not sow, and he that looketh to the clouds shall not reap.* A wise man will make more opportunities than he finds. Men's behaviour should be like their apparel, not too strait or point device, but free for exercise or motion.

Notes and Explanations:

Real—having sterling worth or real intrinsic value.

Foil—hammered thin leaf of metal placed under precious stone to enhance its brightness by contrast.

He that is only......foil—only that man possesses real worth, who has some talent or virtue in him just as a precious stone is valuable only if it possesses intrinsic or natural worth and beauty and does not require to be set off with a foil.

Mark—note carefully.

Gettings and Gains—income and profit.

Light gains......purses—small margin of profit is incentive to great sales and consequently big profits.

Commendation—appreciation ; popularity.

In note—noticed.

The idea is that if we note carefully, small things gain value and importance because people use them continually and praise and commend them, though they be devoid of intrinsic value. So general or public popularity lends great value to a thing such as ceremonies, manners, etc.

Isabella—Queen of Castile (1450-1494).

Good forms—good manners, respects.

Therefore it doth......good forms—good manners serve the purpose of testimonials or letters of recommendation as they win for a man praise and reputation from the people who highly commend good behaviour. Attractive manner is in itself a recommendation.

To attain them......the rest—to acquire good manners it is enough to see that other people are well-behaved and mannerly. One should not be too anxious or particular to be mannerly. What is required is that one should not hate manners. Then all will go well.

For if he labour......unaffected—if a man becomes too attentive to good manners and tries to show them, he will lose their charm which lies in natural and unaffected behaviour.

Measured—rhythmic.

Breaketh his mind—disperses his thoughts ; lacks concentration of attention or mind.

Small observations—details, unimportant items or trivial things.

How can a man......observations—a man who wastes his time and energy on trifles and unimportant things and scatters his thoughts cannot grasp great matters requiring close and concentrated attention.

Omitted—ignored.

Formal natures—punctilious natures ; men of manners and reserved nature.

The idea is one should observe moderation in mannerliness, neither display nor total lack of it. If a man becomes entirely careless about manners, he will induce others also to be unmannerly and will lose respect at the hands of younger and inferior people. One should deal with some ceremony and mannerliness with at least strangers and punctilious men or people fond of formality.

Dwelling—stress ; emphasis.

Exalting—making too much of ; setting too much store by ; attaching undue importance.

Tedious—tiring ; boring ; inconvenient.

Doth diminish the faith......speaks—exaggerated politeness on the part of a man creates suspicion about his sincerity and intention.

Effectual—effective.

Imprinting—impressive.

And certainly there is... . hit upon it—no doubt there are certain complimentary expressions and polite words which stand a man in good stead if he possesses ready wit to make use of them.

To keep state—to be dignified.

Amongst man's peers......familiar—a man is certainly free with his equals and too much familiarity breeds' contempt. Therefore, he must be a bit dignified and reserved. Similarly, a man is revered and held in high esteem by inferiors. Too much of reverence and reserve must have a touch of freedom and familiarity,

He that is too much... . cheap—too much of anything is bad. It bores people and creates aversion.

Occasion of satiety—cause of boredom ; tedious and monotonous ; disgusting.

Cheap—contemptible ; trivial and unimportant.

To apply oneself to—to accommodate oneself.

Demonstration—showing (accommodation.)

Facility—goodness ; virtue.

So it be......upon facility—if a man is accommodating it must be so shown that it is out of regard and not out of good nature only.

Seconding—lending support ; crying ditto to or playing second fiddle.

Grant—approve, corroborate.

Distinction—difference ; disagreement.

Motion—proposal ; policy ; idea.

With condition—conditionally ; with reservation.

Allow—approve.

That attribute—insincerity or motive underlying compliments.

Men had need......virtues—a man must take care that he is not too complimentary towards others because his rivals will impute motives to him and regard his compliments insincere ; though he may be a very able fellow, and that will damage his reputation for other greater virtues.

Respects—regards ; formalities ; manners.

Curious—careful ; punctilious ; keen and cautious.

Observing—examining ; probing into pros and cons of ; looking to whether favourable or unfavourable.

It is loss also......opportunities—to be too formal and punctilious is harmful in business. To be over-cautious and punctilious is impediment to action and disables man from taking advantage of opportunities which slip away quickly.

He that considereth......reap—a man who fears the coming of a wind would miss the time of sowing and he who hesitates to reap at the sight of clouds will lose the

opportunity of harvesting. The idea is that a man must not be too punctilious or formal about things as it makes the mind fickle and wavering and deprives him of the power of action.

Men's behaviour motion—a man's behaviour is like a dress which should not be too tight to impede his movement ; i.e., behaviour, like dress, is meant for hiding a flaw or fault only and not meant for mere show or formality. It must fit in with the fashion so that it may not look too curious or awakward and incite hatred or suspicion in others.

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28. OF REVENGE

Revenge is a kind of wild justice; which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out. For as for the first wrong, it doth but offend the law; but the revenge of that wrong putteth the law out of office. Certainly, in taking revenge, a man is but even with his enemy; but in passing it over, he is superior; for it is a prince's part to pardon. And Salomon, I am sure, saith, *It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence.* That which is past is gone, and irrevocable; and wise men have enough to do with things present and to come; therefore they do but trifle with themselves, that labour in past matters. There is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake; but thereby to purchase himself profit, or pleasure, or honour, or the like. Therefore why should I be angry with a man for loving himself better than me? And if any man should do wrong merely out of ill-nature, why, yet it is but like the thorn or briar, which prick and scratch, because they can do no other. The most tolerable sort of revenge is for those wrongs which there is no law to remedy; but then let a man take heed the revenge be such as there is no law to punish; else a man's enemy is still beforehand, and it is two for one. Some, when they take revenge, are desirous the party should know whence it cometh. This is the more generous. For the delight seemeth to be not so much in doing the hurt as in making the party repent. But base and crafty cowards are like the arrow that flieth in the dark. Cosmus, duke of Florence, had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable; *You shall read* (saith he) *that we are commanded to forgive our enemies*

but you never read that we are commanded to forgive our friends. But yet the spirit of Job was in a better tune : *Shall we* (saith he) *take good at God's hands, and not be content to take evil also* ? And so of friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a man that studieth revenge keeps his own wounds green, which otherwise would heal and do well. Public revenges are for the most part fortunate ; as that for the death of Caesar ; for the death of Pertinax ; for the death of Henry the Third of France ; and many more. But in private revenges it is not so, Nay rather, vindictive persons live the life of witches ; who, as they are mischievous, so end they infortunate.

Notes and Explanations :

Wild—opposed to the laws of a civilized society.

The more man's nature runs to—the more man is inclined to take its help.

To weed it out—to remove ; to eradicate.

Which the more man's nature .....weed it out—If men are inclined to take recourse to wild justice, it is necessary that the law should eradicate this tendency in them.

As for the first wrong—as regards the person who commits the wrong first.

It doth but offend the law—that person simply violates the law. *Offend*—violate ; go against it.

But the revenge of that wrong—the person who takes wild revenge for the wrong done to him.

Putteth the law out of office—destroys the sanctity of law ; disregards the very existence of law.

Exp. *For as for the first wrong......out of office*—Bacon points out that revenge for some wrong done is opposed to the conditions of civilized society ; it is a kind of 'wild justice.' A civilized society is governed by laws and if a person wrongs another person, it means he has violated the law. But if

the sufferer takes revenge on the wrong-doer, instead of going to the law court for redress, then he throws to the winds the very sanctity of law.

Even with—equal.

In passing it over—in disregarding or overlooking the wrong. *To pass over*—to disregard; to overlook; to ignore.

For it is a prince's part to pardon—it is an act of large-heartedness to overlook the wrong done and forgive the wrong-doer, cf. To err is human, to forgive is divine.

It is the glory of a man—it is the sign of greatness in a man.

Pass by—ignore; disregard. *Offence*—wrong.

Irrevocable—that which canot be changed.

That which is past......irrevoczble—that which has happened belongs to the past and cannot be undone. In other words Bacon wants to suggest it is no use nursing the past.

Trifle with themselves—waste their time and energies in things which are of no importance.

That labour in past matters—persons who bother themselves with things that have happened in the past.

Labour—bother; show great concern.

Exp. *That which is past is gone......past matters*— It is no use taking revenge for some wrong that has been done in the past. Whatever has been done in the past cannot be undone; wisdom lies in passing it over. Wise men always concern themselves with the present and plan for things of the future. The persons who bother themselves with what had happened in the past simply waste their time and energies over trifles.

No man doth a wrong's sake—no man commits wrong because he likes to commit wrong.

To puchase himself—to get for himself.

Or the like—and similar things.

Why—what is the ground or reason.

Exp. *Therefore why......than me*—Bacon suggests that when a man commits wrong, he does it on some purpose. He wants pleasure or glory or honour and the wrong perhaps helps in getting any of these things. It shows that he is so fond of his own good that he can even commit wrong. It is average human nature. And therefore why should a man be angry against another who has committed wrong. Could he have not acted in the same way, had he got the chance ?

Merely out of ill-nature—simply because of evil nature in him.

Briar—a bush with thorns.

Scratch—lacerate the skin ; hurt the skin.

Exp. *And if any man......can do no other*—An average human being does not commit wrong for the sake of wrong. If a person does wrong someone out of evil nature simply, it means he is like the thorn or briar whose only function is to prick and bruise the skin. Like the briar, such an inherently evil person can do nothing else but commit the wrong for the sake of wrong. It is his nature.

Tolerable sort of revenge—revenge is kind of 'wild justice' and not a thing of a civilized society. But it can be tolerated or allowed in certain cases.

No law to remedy—where no redress can be had in a legal tribunal.

The revenge be such......no law to punish—he should inflict such revenge on the wrong-doer that he himself remains free from the clutches of law. If his revenge is illegal, he will be punished by the law.

Still before hand—still powerful, still dominates.

And it is two for one—the person who takes revenge inflicts one injury on his enemy. But the enemy is able to inflict two : the original injury and the penalty for illegal revenge.

Exp. *The most tolerable........two for one*—On the whole 'revenge' is a kind of 'wild justice' and therefore

civilized men should desist from it. But reveuge is tolerable when it is taken for those wrongs which are not punished by the law. But here the wronged party who takes revenge should be careful. If he takes revenge in such a way that his action is illegal, then he will have to suffer two injury for one injury that he inflicts on his enemy. He will have to endure the original injury and the penalty for illegal revenge.

Desirous—anxious.

The party—the person on whom the revenge is being taken.

Whence it cometh—from where it comes ; who takes the revenge.

Seemeth—seems ; appears.

Making the party repent—making the wrong-doer feel that he has committed a wrong and he must feel sorry for it.

Base and crafty—mean and clever.

Like the arrow that flieth in the dark—mean and clever people take revenge in a secret manner. They do not reveal their intentions to their enemy but strike him when he is least aware of anything.

Cosmus—Duke of Florence in the 16th century.

Florence—in Italy. *Perfidious*—faithless.

Neglecting—negligent.

Desperate saying—a very pointed and sharp saying.

Commanded—asked (by Christ). In one of his ten commandments Christ asks us to forgive our enemies.

But you never read..;......to forgive our friends—Bacon suggests by quoting these words of Cosmus that it is very difficult to forgive the wrong done by a friend. Even Christ asks us to forgive our enemies, but nowhere does he say that we should forgive a faithless friend.

Job—he is a character in the Bible. He is famous for his remarkable qualities of patience and endurance in spite of all misfortunes.

Content—satisfied ; happy.

Exp. *Cosmus, duke of Florence......content to take evil also ?*—In these lines Bacon suggests that if we listen to the advice of Cosmus, then there is room for 'revenge' in life. According to the saying of Cosmus, if unpardonable wrongs are committed by faithless friends, revenge could be taken on them. Even Christ asked us to forgive our enemies, but nowhere did he tell us to forgive our friends for unpardonable wrong acts. The advice of Job, however, is in a better spirit ; it does not recommend revenge under any circumstances. It recommends patience and tolerance. Job points out that if accept good from God cheerfully, we should feel satisfied in receiving evil from him.

And so of friends in a proportion—the same can be said of friends. If we accept good at their hands, we must sometimes be content to accept evil too.

Studieth revenge—plans revenge carefully.

Keeps his own wounds green—always remembers the wrongs done to him.

Which otherwise would heal and do well—If he had not been planning for taking revenge, he would have forgotten the wrongs done to him. His injuries would have healed and he would have done better in life.

Caesar—Julius Caesar, emperor of Rome.

Pertinax—a Roman emperor murdered by rebellion soldiers in the second century.

Henry the Third—assassinated in 1589.

Exp. *Public revenges......and many more*—In these lines Bacon suggests that public revenges have been good for those who avenged the wrongs of their predecessors. Septimius Severus avenged the death of Septimius, Henry IV or Henry III and in each case they were successful and made good out of it.

Nay rather—not only this but more.

Vindictive—those who take revenge.

Infortunate—unfortunately.

Exp. *Nay rather.........so end they infortunate*—Not only this that private revenges are never as good as public revenges. There is something more to it. Persons who are in the habit of taking revenge lead the life of witches. Like witches they spell misery in the life of others by foreboding evil things, and like witches they end their own lives in unhappiness and misery.

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29. OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN

The joys of parents are secret; and so are their grief and fears. They cannot utter the one; nor they will not utter the other. Children sweeten labours; but they make misfortunes more bitter. They increase the cares of life; but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuity be generation is common to beasts; but memory, merit, and noble works, are proper to men. And surely a man shall see the noblest works and foundations have proceeded from childless men; which have sought to express the images of their minds, where those of their bodies have failed. So the care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity. They that are the first raisers of their houses are most indulgent towards their children; beholding them as the continuance not only of their kind but of their work; and so both children and creatures.

The difference in affection of parents towards their several children is many times unequal; and sometimes unworthy; especially in the mother; as Salomon saith, *A wise son rejoiceth the father*, but *an ungracious son shames the mother*. A man shall see, where there is a house full of childern, one or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made mantons; but in the midst some that are as it were forgotton, who many times nevertheless prove the best. The illiberality of parents in allowance towards their children is an harmful error; makes them base; acquaints them with shifts; makes them sort with mean company; and makes them surfeit more when they come to plenty. And therefore the proof is best, when men keep their authority towards their children, but not their purse. Men have a foolish manner (both parents and school-

masters and servants) in creating and breading an emulation between brothers during childhood, which many times sorteth to discord when they are men, and disturbeth families. The Italians make little difference between children and nephews or near kinsfolk; but so they be of the lump, they care not though they pass not through their own body. And, to say truth, in nature it is much a like matter; insomuch that we see a nephew sometimes resembleth an uncle or a kinsman more than his own parent; as the blood happens. Let parents choose betimes the vocations and courses they mean their children should take; for then they are most flexible; and let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition of their children, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to. It is true, that if the affection or aptness of the children be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it; but generally the precept is good. *Optimum elige, suave et facile illud faciet consuetudo*: (*Choose what is best, custom will make it agreeable and easy.*) Younger brothers are commonly fortunate, but seldom or never where the elder are disinherited.

Notes and Explanatians :

The joys of parents are secret—nobody else can participate in the pleasure of parents; they alone feel the thrill and excitement of their children.

And so are their griefs and fears—the parents cannot share their griefs and fears regarding their children with others; they bear them themselves.

The one - stands for 'the joys.'

They cannot utter the one—their joys are so thrilling and exciting that they cannot be expressed in words.

The other—stands for 'griefs and fears.'

Nor they will not utter the other—the parents can voice

their griefs and fears before others lest their children be exposed to the criticism of others.

Children sweeten labours—Hard work becomes pleasant if one has children who are to be benefitted by it. As the welfare of children is dear to all parents, children act as an incentive to hard work and make it pleasant.

But they make misfortunes more bitter—in times of difficulties and trouble children also suffer before the very eyes of their parents. As the parents see them suffer, they feel miserable and unhappy. So misfortune looks 'bitter' because it pesters innocent little children as well.

They increase the cares of life—children naturally add to the responsibilities of their parents.

Mitigate—soften ; lessen.

But they mitigate the remembrance of death—If a person has children, the idea of death is not very disturbing to him. The fact that his children will perpetuate the family and are born in their own image lessens the terror of death.

Exp. *The joys of parents......of death*—The pleasure of parents are so exciting and thrilling that they are exclusive ; nobody else can participate in them. Similarly the griefs and fears of the parents cannot be communicated by them to others. The parents bear the griefs themselves lest others. The parents bear the griefs themselves lest others should know them and look down upon their children. Children are always a great incentive to hard work and parents enjoy working for the happiness and welfare of their children. But these very children who make hard work interesting, make misfortunes bitter. At the time of difficulties and troubles children suffer before the eyes of their parents. So misfortunes appear 'bitter' because they cause suffering to innocent children. These children add to the responsibilities of their parents but at the same time they lessen the horror of death for them. The idea of death does not terrify parents so much because they know that their children will carry on what they leave behind. They may die but their memory will continue to live.

Perpetuity by generation—continuance of the race.

Is common to beasts—is the general characteristic of animals.

But memory, merit and noble works, are proper to men—men like animals do not want the continuance of the race alone ; they want that their children should perpetuate their memory, carry on their noble works and bring fame to all.

Proper to men - belong to men as a matter of right.

Noblest works and foundations—noblest deeds and actions.

Proceeded from—come from.

Childless men—men who had no children.

And surely a man .. ..childless man—Earlier Bacon had pointed out that children are a blessing to parents in many ways. But somehow generally noble needs and actions are performed by men who have no children.

Sought—tried.

Exp. *Which have sought to express the images of the minds, where those of their bodies have failed*—the reason why childless men are capable of the noblest deeds is that these men, as they have no children, still want to perpetuate their memory. Having been deprived of the physical images of themselves in the form of children, they tried to do things which enshrine their best ideas and ambitions. So the noblest deeds, the images of their minds, help to keep their memory and merit alive.

Posterity—future generations.

No posterity—no children ; no future generation.

They that are the first raisers of their houses—those persons who have brought glory to their family for the first time, i.e., who have 'raised' the status of their family.

Indulgent towards their children—love their children.

Beholding—see ; regarding.

Of their kind—of their type.

Betimes—at the appropriate time.

Vocation and courses—the professions and careers.

For then they are most flexible—at a young age children can adapt themselves to anything easily.

Flexible—adaptable.

Too much apply themselves to—show too much care.

Disposition—inclination ; aptitude.

And let them not......disposition of their children—the parents should not care too much for the inclination and aptitude of their children.

As thinking they will take best to......most mind to—the parents should always think that their children will adapt themselves very well to that profession and career which they like most.

Will take best to—will adapt themselves very well.

They have most in mind—they like most.

Affection—liking for a job or career.

Aptness—suitability.

If the affection......be extraordinary—if the liking of the children for a particular job is very great ; if the children are highly suitable for a course or vocation.

Not to cross it—not to thwart it ; not to check it ; not to discourage it.

Then it is good not to cross it—it is always good that in such cases the wishes of the children should not be discouraged or thwarted.

Precept—principle.

Custom—habit ; familiarity with it.

Agreeable—pleasant.

Optimum elige etc.—it means 'choose what is best, custom will make it agreeable and easy.' It is a sentence of Pythagoras quoted by Bacon.

Commonly fortunate—generally lucky.

Elder are disinherited—that is when elder children are ot made heir to the property of the parents; in other words e property is inherited by the younger ones.

Exp. *Younger brothers......are disinherited*—Bacon eans to say that younger brothers are generally fortunate cause they know that they will have to work for their ing as the property will be enjoyed by the elders. So ey acquire the habits of hard work and become thrifty. t if they acquire property as a result of the elder brothers ng disinherited, they are often ruined by sudden sperity.

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30. OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE

He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune ; for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief. Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the public, have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men which both in affection and means have married and endowed the public. Yet it were great reason that those that have children should have greatest care of future times ; unto which they know they must transmit their dearest pledges. Some there are, who though they lead a single life, yet their thoughts do end with themselves, and account future times impertinences. Nay, there are some other that account wife and children but as bills of charges. Nay more, there are some foolish rich covetous men, that take a pride in having no children, because they may be thought so much the richer. For perhaps they have heard some talk. *Such an one is a great rich man*, and another except to it, *Yea, but he hath a great charge of children* ; as if it were an abatement to his riches. But the most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty, especially in certain self-pleasing and humorous minds, which are so sensible of every restraint, as they will go near to think their girdles and garters to be bonds and shackles. Unmarried men are best friends, best masters, best servants ; but not always best subjects ; for they are light to run away ; and almost all fugitives are of that condition. A single life doth well with churchmen ; for charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool. It is indifferent for judges and magistrates ; for if they be facile and corrupt, you shall have a servant five

times worse than a wife. For soldiers, I find the generals commonly in their hortatives put men in mind of their wives and children ; and I think the despising of marriage amongst the Turks maketh the vulgar soldier more base. Certainly wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity ; and single men, thought they may be many times more charitable, because their means are less exhaust, yet, on the other side, they are more cruel and hard-hearted (good to make severe inquisitors,) because their tenderness is not so oft called upon. Grave natures, led by custom, and therefore constant, are commonly loving husbands ; as was said of Ulysses, *vetulam suam praetulit immortalitati* : [*he preferred his old wife to immortality.*] Chaste women are often proud and forward, as presuming upon the merit of their chastity. It is one of the best bonds both of chastity and obedience in the wife, if she think her husband wise ; which she will never do if she find him jealous. Wives are young men's mistresses ; companions for middle age : and old men's nurses. So as a man may have a quarrel to marry when he will. But yet he was reputed one of the wise men, that made answer to the question, when a man should marry ?—A *young man not yet, an elder man not at all.* It is often seen that bad husbands have very good wives ; whether it be that it raiseth the price of their husband's kindness when it comes ; or that the wives take a pride in their patience. But this never fails, if the bad husbands were of their own choosing, against their friends' consent ; for then they will be sure to make good their own folly.

Notes and Explanations :

Hath given hostages to fortune—one may not become very rich or gain glory and fame.

Hostage—a person given to or kept by another (especially an enemy) as a guarantee that promises will be kept or that demands will be agreed to.

Fortune—prosperity ; good luck.

He that hath wife..........given hostages to fortune—Literary it would mean that a person who has wife and children has given a kind of guarantee to Fortune that he will never be able to master it. In simple words a man has to do so much for his wife and children that he cannot over-power fortune ; he will have to accept whatever comes his way.

Impediments—obstacles.

Great enterprises—great deeds and undertakings.

Either of virtue or mischief—whether the great deeds are meant to glorify a man's name or whether they are undertaken to cause harm to others.

Best works—best deeds.

Of greatest merit—of greatest advantage and use.

Have proceeded from—have come from ; have been done by.

Which—in modern English we will use 'who'.

In affection—in their regard for ; love.

Means—resources.

Married—deeply attached to.

Endowed—give money which will provide permanent income to. 'Endowed with public' means that the unmarried people give their best part to the public and for the public good.

Which both in affection...........endowed the public—the unmarried people are capable of doing great public deeds because, as they have no children, they give their all affection to public ; they use all their resources for public benefit ; in fact they get deeply attached to the public and give their best to it for its everlasting good.

Exp. *He that hath wife and children......married and endowed the public*—Bacon suggests in these lines that persons who are married and have wife and children have given 'hostages to fortune' ; have given it guarantee that

they will abide it, and fulfil all its demands. In other words they will never have their own initiative ; fortune will dictate terms to them as a person who has a hostage dictates terms to others. The reason is that a married person with wife and children has not got the freedom and courage to act as he likes, to go all out for fame or for mischief. He feels chained and restricted. The best deeds and undertakings, especially those which have resulted in the greatest public good, are performed by unmarried or childless men. It is natural because these unmarried or childless, as they have no shares of their love and means, give all to the public. They get in fact so deeply attached to public that Bacon says that they are 'married' to it ; they are as much devoted to the public cause as a married man to his wife.

Yet it were great reason—certainly there is great reason.

That those that have..........care of future times—those who have children should apparently labour hard for the good of the age and public because their children will have to grow among them. The better the 'future times', the better the children will grow.

Unto which—into whom ; through them.

Transmit—pass on.

Dearest pledges—their best ideas and ideals.

Unto which they know...... ...pledges—those that have children pass on their best qualities and their highest ideals to their children. And these ideals will survive only if these man take care of 'future times' wherein their children should grow. (But the fact of life is that those who have the cares of a family have less leisure, less freedom, and less wealth than the childless men. Moreover, the childless men have always a feeling that they cannot hope to be remembered at all except by good deeds which they may do).

Yet their thoughts do end with themselves—they are narrowly confined to themselves ; they live for themselves and then disappear from this world.

Account—consider.

Future times—the care of future times, of other generations.

Impertinences—irrelevant ; necessary.

Exp. *Some there are.........impertinences*—There are certain people who live a single life, and live it out for themselves. They are so confined to themselves that they do not care to be remembered after death. As such care of the future seems to them something highly irrelevant to their personal lives.

Account wife and children but as bills of charges—consider wife and children as mere sources of expenditure who continually tax their pockets.

Nay—not only this.

Convetous—greedy.

Because—in order that.

Because they may be thought so much the richer—they feel pride in having no children in order that they may be considered richer as there would be none to share their wealth.

Another except to it—another person taking exception to the remark.

Except—to take exception ; to object. *Yea*—yes.

He hath a great charge of children—he has a number of children to look after.

Abatement—lessening ; to grow less.

But the most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty—one simple reason why people want to lead a single life is that they love freedom.

Certain self-pleasing and humorous minds—some people who are happy with themselves and are fanciful.

Humorous—fanciful.
Sensible—mindful ; sensitive to.
Restraint—check ; fetter.

Girdles and garters—the parts of the dress ; here Bacon means to say even those things which are part of ones daily life.

To be bonds and shackles—to be restraints.

But the most ordinary cause......bonds and shackles—The very common reason why people like to lead a single life is their strong desire for freedom. There are certain people who are so pleased with themselves and are so fanciful that even 'girdles and garter', the inèvitable things of daily life, appear to them restraints of fetters.

Best subjects—best citizens.

Light—like a soldier without baggage.

Fugitives—those who run away.

Are of that condition—are light ; have no responsibilities and encumberances.

But not always best subjects.......... are of that condition—unmarried men are not best citizens in a kingdom. In times of difficulty they may as easily run away from responsibility.as a soldier without baggage from a battlefield. All those who run away from their respective responsibilities are persons who have no encumberances.

Doth well with churchmen—suits the priests very well.

Churchmen—priests.

For charity will hardly water the ground—only a very little portion of their love is spent on themselves.

If must fill a pool—the genorosity of priest is extended to all.

For charity will.........fill a pool—A single life suits the priests very well. Priests have to extend their charity to all, they have to 'fill a pool' as it were. So if they get married only a fraction of the charity could be spent on wife and children. The argument therefore is that they should as well remain unmarried.

Indifferent—neutral ; a matter of no consequence.

Facile—to be easily influenced.

Corrupt given to illegal practices.

Exp. *It is indifferent for judges......worse than a wife*—For judges and magistrates it hardly matters whether they are single or married. If a judge is single and if he can be easily influenced and follows corrupt practices, he is wife times worse than a wife.

Put men in mind of their wives and children—remind them of their wives and children.

Despising—Hate ; look down upon ; consider as bad.

More base—More mean and ferocious.

Despising of marriage amongst the Turks......more base—Among the Turkish people marriage is looked down upon. The result is that a cruel Turkish soldier takes to more cruely. He hardly knows the softening effects of the love of wife and children.

Certainly wife and children are a discipline of humanity—Married people behave in a more responsible manner than unmarried people ; wife and children add to life so much that a kind of discipline sets in the life of married people.

Less exhaust—are not easily finished.

Because their tenderness is not so oft called upon—In case of a married man it can be said that his wife and children often appeal to his sense of love and tenderness ; consequently married people very often bring these qualities into play. But so such demands are made on the love and tenderness of single people ; so they grow cruel and hard-hearted.

Is not so oft called upon—in not so often demanded.

Exp. *Certainly wife and children..... so oft called upon*—wife and children make peculiar demands on married men ; sometimes they add to their responsibilities, sometimes they appeal to their love and generosity. The total effect of all this is that married men sober down in life ; they behave in a more responsible manner than unmarried people. Single

men are sometimes more charitable and generously contribute to public funds as their resources are not shared by anybody else. But these men grow cruel and thick-skinned because hardly any appeals are made to the feelings of love and campassion in them. In the life of a married man, these qualities are ever in demand; in the life of a single man, they are not so often touched tenderly and so he grows hearthearted.

Grave natures—serious persons.

Led by custam—is they observe established practice.

Therefore constant—not vacillating in their minds; having a definite approach.

Ulysses—a famous Greek hero who fought in the Trojan war. On his way back from Troy to his own land, Ulysses came across Calypso enchantress. She promised him immortality if he would stay with her. Ulysses, however, preferred to return to his old wife. So Ulysses would stand for all those who "prefer custom and habit before all excellency."

Froward—social; having no inhibitions.

Presuming upon—depending upon.

Bonds—combination; mixture.

It is one of the best bonds......in the wife—it is by for the best combination of virtues if the wife is both chaste and obedient.

Young men's mistresses—teach young men many things in life.

Old men's nurses—look after old men.

A quarrel—a reason.

May have a quarrel to marry when he will—considering the important role a wife plays at various stages of life, a young man has every cause to think when he should marry.

Wives are young men's mistresses......old men's nurses—young men are often wayward and lack discipline; their wives teach them all this, including the graces and manners

of life. During the middle age, the wives become real companions of life; their role as mistress being over, they participate in the partner's life fully. In the old age they look after their husbands with loving care and tenderness. So they change roles—from a mistress to a companion and then a nurse.

One of the wise men—the reference is to Thales. He was considered as one of the seven wise men of Greece, and was the first Greek philosopher.

Whether it be that it raiseth the price of their husband's kindness—when a bad husband shows kindness once in a blue moon, naturally it is to be valued highly; wives in such cases attach great importance to it.

Price—value; attach great importance to.

Or that the wives take a pride in their patience—or it appears that good wives patiently endure bad husbands in that they show off how bravely and patiently they can put up with them.

But this never fails—Without exception it happens that they patiently put up with their bad husbands.

Were of their own choosing—were the result of their own choice. *Consent* - advice.

To make good—to make amends for; to justify.

But this never fails......make good their own folly—Good wives have to put up with their bad husbands if they happen to choose them against their friend's advice. In order to keep up appearances before their friends they have to put up the best show in spite of the husbands being bad. They must make amends for their folly by quietly submitting to their husband's will.

CRITICAL QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q. 1. *Write a brief essay on Bacon's style.*

Or

What are the distinctive traits of Bacon as a prose writer. Is it true he possesses more than one style. If it so, what are the reasons therefor ?

Or

Write a critique on Bacon's style in his essays.

Ans. See Chapter VI in the General Introduction.

Q. 2. *Write a brief essay on Bacon as a prose writer.*

Or

How for it is true that Bacon was farther of English prose ?

Or

"With Bacon English prose has definitely found itself, has not been merely discovered but conquered" Discuss.

Ans. See Bacon's style from Chapter VI *plus* subject matter from Chapter V in the General Introduction.

Q. 3. *Estimate Bacon's position in the development of English prose.*

Ans. See Chapter XI in the General Introduction.

Q. 4. *Give your estimate of the position of Bacon's essays in the development of English prose.*

Ans. As an essayist Bacon stands in the first rank of English essayists. He can be rightly called the father of the English essay. To begin with he wrote ten essays only and he described them as "fragments of my conceit." He was not very particular about these fragments. They were merely jottings put down on paper in a curt, pithy, and aphoristic style The first edition of his essays appeared in 1597. Then his conception of the essay and the capabilities of the essay form began to develop. The second edition of the essays appeared with 38 essays in it. In the dedication to the 2nd edition he refers to the word 'essay' and points out its origin. In his opinion Seneca had written essays in his Epistles to Lusilius without using the word 'essay'. But still his essays were 'certain brief notes written down rather significantly than curiously'. The essays were no longer fragments of his conceit. They were, in his own word "Significant" and he had tried to make them "Not vulgar but of a nature, whereof a man shall find much in his experience and little in book". So, we note a change in Bacon's conception and understanding of the term 'essay' from the first edition to the second edition. In 1625 the third edition of his essays was brought out. From 1612 to 1625, Bacon's mind had travelled further towards greater understanding of the nature, significance and purpose of the essay. The number of essays rose from 38 to 58. No longer does he call them either "Fragments" or "Brief Notes". They have now become "the best fruits" of his pen and labours. He writes in his epistle dedicatory that these fruits of his pen and labours could achieve this shape and form because of "The good increase which God gives to my pen and labours." In other words he had worked harder this time on the essays ; he had given them a value of their own to trun them into 'a new work'. This journey of Bacon's mind from the first edition of his Essays to the third edition of his Essays is something very essential in order to realize Bacon's contribution to the development of the English Essay. From this discussion it becomes clear that it was by slow degrees that Bacon became the father of the English Essay. The journey was begun in 1597 and the goal was achieved in 1625. But this journey had been so successful and so glorious that today Bacon is the undisputed

father of the English Essay. In the words of Hugh Walker: "Bacon is the first English Essayist, as he remains for sheer mass and weight of genius, the greatest."

Besides being an essayist of outstanding merit and his essays being a summary of all the wisdom of the world. Bacon's essays also occupy a very important position from the point of view of the development of English Prose. It should be remembered that he mostly wrote in Latin. Major part of his serious and philosophical work is written in Latin because it was in his opinion the "universal language." The *Essays*, the *Advancement of Learning*, *History of Henry VII*, *Apophthegms New and Old*, *New Atlantis* are the only works that he wrote in English. None of these works contributed to the development of English Prose style so much as his Essays. In his *Advancement of Learning* he does use the English language with skill and understanding. But as yet he suffers from those very defects which were common among the Elizabethan writers. His sentences continued to be inconveniently long, full of parentheses. But in his essays the position is very different. He wrote a prose style which with minor changes down the centuries became the prose style of generations of English Essayists. This was an achievement of which Bacon was perhaps not so very much aware. About English he was convinced that these modern languages will at one time or the other play the bankrupt with books. When he wrote his essays in English he always thought of translating them into Latin so that they could last as long as books last. In spite of this opinion that Bacon has about the English language, the essays did contribute to the development of English Prose style. It was because of nature and demand of the essays, and the inner man that was in Bacon. We should remember that Bacon, the scientific thinker and speculative philosopher, was writing these essays. He had to be brief, he had to be clear, his style had to be analytical. The result was that the essays demanded a style of their own. This has been very well pointed out by Hugh Walker in the following words. "By the very plan and conception, almost of necessity, the sentences had to be short. They are so even in the later

essays, with shortness came lucidity........The grammatical structure is sometimes loose, but it is rarely ambiguous. With shortness came flexibility." So in the essays Bacon did set the example of an important prose style. He did furnish the model. To quote once again Hugh Walker "Bacon did more than introduce a new literary form. He took one of the longest steps ever taken in the evolution of English Prose style ; a style which set that style on the road which is travelled though not without divagations, down to the day of Swift and Addison." It should, however, be noted that when we say that Bacon was the father of English Prose style for the Essay, it does not mean that his style was used by his followers in the same way. Perhaps no-body after Bacon wrote in the same curt, aphoristic, stenographic and anthetical style. It simply means that Bacon gave guidance to the successive generations of Essayists that followed him. He made it clear to them that English Prose could be handled and used effectively to deal with the affairs of human life. In his Essays which contained counsels, civil and moral, he gave sufficient proof of the way in which he could talk with the minds of ordinary readers in a language which everybody understood, and about things in which everybody was interested. The contribution of Bacon in this respect is historically very important. Before him great masters of English Prose like Hooker, Raleigh, Burton had used prose with great success and effect. But these writers had majesty and strength ; that had richness of music and melody ; in their hours of inspiration they were incomparable in their poetic prose. But it should not be forgotten that they were not the masters of a style suitable for the purposes of daily life. Their prose was meant for great subjects and for great moments of thought and elevation. Their Prose was not fit for ordinary every day subjects which come home to men's business and bosoms. As Hugh Walker puts it, "their prose was ill adapted to the pedestrian passages." The sentences were long : parentheses were very common. Bacon shared these defects in his larger works. But in the essays he did set the example.

In his essays Bacon almost became one of the impor-

tant writers of the Anti-Ciceronian movement. Cicero was a classical writer who exercised a great influence on the minds of the Elizabethans. Those who wrote under the influence of Cicero favoured the long winding sentences, ornateness, imagery, analogy and metaphor. These things were very much to the taste of the time. In spite of these defects of the time Bacon in his essays introduced a simplified form of English Prose. Bush, a noted critic, correctly points out. "He put aside the elaborate affectation of Lyly, and while not free from mannerism struct a happy compromise between the straightforward simplicity of Ascham and highly coloured complexity of Euphuism." He wrote a comparatively easy and lucid prose in an age when such simplicity and conversational ease were at a discount Huge Walker says, "To Bacon, in short, we are largely indebted for making good that which had been the chief defect of English literature. Till the closing years of the sixteenth century, except, in translations, no one had shown a mastery of the principles of prose. Then Bacon showed such mastery."

Bacon in his essays wrote two different styles. When we talk of the position of Bacon's essays in the development of English Prose we generally think of the second style. In estimating the influence of prose style in his essays we have to bear in mind that Bacon moved towards a richer, analytical, argumentative prose of every day life in the final edition of his essays. The first edition of his essays was written in a curt, stenographic, and antithetical style. The sentences are generally short and crisp. There are few connectives. Each sentence stands by itself. It is the concentrated expression of weighty thoughts. Each sentence of these essays contain matter for a paragraph of an ordinary writer. In one word the prose style of this edition can be called aphoristic. But in the second and the third edition Bacon gradually moved away from this curt and stenographic style. In the third edition the sentences become looser and persuasive. The tautness and the effect of surprise disappear from his style. No longer are the sentences absolutely curt. There are more connectives and the discontinuity of the early sentences is replaced by unified

sentences. Moreover the sentences are enriched by examples and quotations, by metaphor and imagery. But however his style could not achieve the merit of a writer who writes with emotional depth and insensity. He was a scientific analyist who does not gossip and ramble The style retains a kind of cool objectivity.

But the very fact that he was a man who wrote from the head rather than from the heart made his style a model of clarity. It gave it a kind of flaxibility. The style in essays could fit itself easily to buildings and gardens, to studies and friendships, to truth and death. It could sing to the lowest level of familiarity and could describe the movements of the human mind and every day affairs of the world. It could at the same time rise to a high level where comparison between the things of this world and the movement of the heavenly body could be easily made. This was a very big achievement indeed. This aspect of Bacon's prose style in his essay is remarkable if we consider it again the background in which he wrote his essays. It should not be forgotten that Lyly and Sidney had made it difficult the telling of a plain tail plainly. Most of the Elizabethen writers came under their spell and could not write a straightforward language. In fact the age was intoxicated with language. It went mad with words and wanted words for the sake of words. The Elizabethens loved gaudier methods, they liked highly decrative mode of expression. Lyly was the writer after their heart. Everybody read Euphues, everybody copied it. The word Euphuism became a current description of an artificial way of using words. Everbody who was important in the court and flattered round the Queen used Euphuism. The result was that even the simple narratives in Hakluyt's voyage are not free from it. Lyly also made the use of reference to some classical authority a fashion.

It was against this trend and against this background that Bacon wrote his essays. In his prose style in the Essays he could have easily copied the fashion of the day. But as pointed out earlier the very plan and conception of the essay, the very nature of the man who wrote them, brought about a definite development and improvement in

the style of writing prose. Therefore it is no exaggeration to say that in writing this kind of prose in his Essays Bacon took one of the longest step ever taken in the evolution of English Prose style Hugh Walker goes on to say that he wrote a style in his essays which "set that style on the road which it travelled, though—not without divagations, down to the days of Swift and Addison."

Q. 5. *Bacon calls his essays "dispersed meditations of a nature whereof man shall find much in experience, little in books, so as neither they are repititions nor fancies" How far do you agree with the view? Give illustrative references to your answer.*

Ans. It was considered opinion of Bacon that his Essays were the result of careful observations of life. Nothing of what they contained would be found in books because they were based on experience. They were neither repetitions of what people had said before nor they were the result of a wandering fancy. They were based on a very sharp and critical observation of the life around him. It is true that in keenness of observation he has been equalled, but perhaps never surpassed. The largeness of his mind was all his own. He surveyed the human life with a very widely open eyes. In the words of Macaulay, "The glance with which he surveyed the intellectual universe resembled that which the Archangel, from the golden threshold of heaven, darted down into the new creation." The essays do not find any echo in books as they deal with matters civil and moral. Bacon was very conscious of this fact and believed that these essays will come to the business and bosoms of men. The essays were written as a kind of advice to people in general on various civil and moral questions. Whether the advice is of a very high moral order is a question which we will examine later on. Presently it should be noted that his observations are very acute and go straight to the heart and bosom of mankind. "Sometimes common place in their protean reflections and generalizations, his three score essays frequently reveal acuteness of observation, acumen of intellect, and breadth of worldly sense." Broadly speaking we can divide the Counsels he gave to men into three categories :

(1) Man in his relation to a Supreme Being ;
(2) Man in his relation to himself ; and
(3) Man in his relation to Society and the World.

In doing so he wanted to give to the human mind a direction which, he thought, "it shall retain for ages." More than half of his essays deal with public life or public affairs. In many of them the statesman or courtier is the main figure. When he is thinking of a man in his relation to himself, he writes on subjects such as truth and love, Simultation and Dissimulation, of Goodness and goodness of Nature and the life. Some quotations from his Essays will make the subject matter obvious. Speaking of love he says that love is rather profitable to the Stage than to human existence, "in life it doth much mischief, sometimes like a syran, sometimes like a fury." No great and worthy person (except Mark Antony and Appius Claudius, famed for his adoration of Virginia) hath been transported to the mad degree of love." "It is impossible to love and be wise." As regards his understanding of the affairs of the world, nobody perhaps can doubt his wisdom. Regarding the problems that men face in the conduct of life he shows extraordinary insight and understanding. As Hudson puts it, "Beyond any other book of the same size in any literature they are loaded with the rightest wisdom of experience." However it may be noted that the wisdom they contained is of worldly kind.

One may fully agree with Bacon that his essays contain matter which men shall find much in experience, little in books. 'Human Nature and How to Manage. It' would be a good little for his essays. Most of the essays deal with public matters. Mostly he is suggesting steps for stateman and princess instructing them how to acqire power and how to keep it. He points how far they may go safely in the direction of self interest, and to what degree the principle of self interest must be subordinated to the wider interests of the people who are ruled. Throughout the essays the moral tone is the tone of a man concerned with the matters of this world. The famous French critic Legouis is very correct when he points that, "It is the art of success

among them which the subject of his essays, he points man to the part he should play on the stage of social life......"

As moral advice to the men of this world, his sayings have singular force and weight. Many of them have become proverbs.

On the whole Bacon's claim that his essays are neither repetition nor the result of fancy is correct. Much of what he says is not available in books. A few quotations from his essays will prove the point :

This is what Bacon says, *On Truth*.

"Certainly, it is heaven upon earth, to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth."

"A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure."

On marriage and Single Life he says—

"Unmarried men are best friends, best masters, best servants ; but not always best subjects ; for they are light to run away ; and almost all fugitives are of that condition."

and then adds—

"Wives are young men's mistresses ; companions for middle age ; and old men's nurses."

On Love he says—

"The stage is more beholding to love, than the life of man. For as to the stage, love is ever matter of comedies, and now and then of tragedies ; but in life it doth much mischief ; sometimes like a syrian, sometimes like a fury.

and then he comes to the strange conclusion—

"...That it is impossible to love and to be wise."

On Friendship he says—

"For there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more ; and no man that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less."

and then adds—

"A man cannot speak to his son but as a father ; to his wife but as a husband ; to his enemy but upon terms : whereas a friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth with the person."

About Envy he feels—

"Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men when they rise."

and further says—

"Lastly, near kinsfolks, and fellows in office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised."

By reading these quotations one can easily say that these are the result of very keen and critical observation of life. They are the outcome of a man's personal experience. They have not been borrowed from any book. Their wisdom is so full of the wisdom of life that they immediately strike our imagination, and as Bacon said, they come home to our business and bosoms. But sometimes some of his observations are very ordinary. They do not seem to be the result of deep observation and careful analysis of life. For example we can hope his observation about perents and children—

"The joys of parents are secret ; and so are their griefs and fears. They cannot utter the one ; nor they will not utter the other. Children sweeten labours ; but they make misfortunes more bitter. They increase the cares of life ; but they mitigate the remembrane of death."

A few more quotations can be quoted to prove that his observations on life sometimes were of an ordinary nature. But on the whole he took his general maxims only from the deep observations he had himself been able to make. Like a good lawyer, he with an air of complete impartiality balances opposing arguments before he brings in his conclusions. The essential merit of the essays lies in the density of thoughts and expressions. In these essays alone Bacon comes into contact with minds of ordinary readers.

Here he talks to plain men in language which everybody understands, about things in which everybody is interested.

Indeed, Bacon's dispersed meditations are based on experience. But unfortunately he has narrowed down the field of observations, not in breadth but in vision. He makes a sweeping survey of matters civil and moral ; he talks of suitors, empires, duties of princes and kings and many other such related matters. But all these observations are made with the help of the mind, keeping the heart closed. It appears that most of the matter is written with his head sharply taken out from the rest of his . personality and put on the table, an inch or two beyond the further edge of the manuscript. The result is that he offers us observations of life which are cold and deprived of the higher morality. The whole volume of his essays may be read through an evening but the morals that he presents are very different from the morals that for example a play of Shakespeare carries. To point out that he was a man of this world and concerned himself with worldly things does not free him from the responsibility that his vision should have been wider.

The vision of Bacon is particularly narrow because he cannot see that side of the picture which is revealed to the heart alone. There are matters in life which we observe everyday and which are very much governed by the higher principles of morality. Nobody can deny that love in its sublime form does exist in everyday human life. Similarly nobody can deny that truth in its purest form does function in the day-to d y business of human being. But invariably Bacon leans heavily on the side of that which is dubious in character. He studied human nature and human life closely but unfortunately it was a partial study. He studied man in a business-like manner. He could never admit that his dispersed meditations should have been a balanced and honest account of human nature. But for this limitation we can say that whatever Bacon says is definitely the result of what he actually saw around him. His maxims are prudential. He appears to be looking down with absolute dispassionateness from a height, determining what course of conduct pays best. He condemns

cunning, not as a thing loathsome and vile, but as a thing unwise. Occasionally he even lays down the rules for immoral conduct without a word of overt disapproval. In the essay "Of Suitors" he recognises indeed the existence of right and wrong. 'There is in some sort a right in every suit ; either a right of equity, if it be a suit of controversy ; or a right of desert, if it be a suit of petitions'. But he goes on ; 'If affection lead a man to favour the wrong side in justice, let him rather use his countenance to compound the matter than to carry it. If affection lead a man to favour the less worthy in desert let him do it without depraving or disabling the better deserver'. Was ever moralist so impartial between right and wrong. Let the wrong-doer be moderate ? But he seems to be so advised, less in the interest of the sufferer, than because in pushing matters to an extreme there is danger to the perpetrator of the wrong.

So it is too with the essays on the domestic relations. Wife and children are 'hostages to fortune', 'impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief'. Bacon's recognition of the moral development due to those relations is most inadequate. It is true that he sees that 'wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity', but he seems hardly conscious of any wider influence. And apparently he thinks the balance of advantage swings ; to the other side ; for he says that 'unmarried men are the best friends, best masters and best servants' though he adds that they are 'not always the best subjects'. Evidently Bacon was both deficient in and disposed to underrate the emotional element. His own marriage was a marriage of convenience ; and though his condemnation of the excesses of the passion of love is fully justified, the pronouncement that it is 'the child of folly', and the advice to sever it wholly from the serious affairs and actions of life, seem to indicate coldness of blood and heart. Contemporaries, uncharitably and perhaps unjustly, suspected to be more susceptible of the meaner than of the more generous passions and saw in the essay Of Deformity, a covert satire on his cousin Robert Cecil, Farl of Salisbury.

Leaving aside this single drawback, which was indeed a

very big one, we whole heartedly support Bacon's claim that his essays contain meditations which man shall find in experience and not in books. He would have rendered a greater service to mankind by enlarging the vision of his experience. Had he included the vision of the heart along with the vision of the head in his essays, he would have been one of the greatest pragmatic writers of the world.

Q. 6. (a) *Justify or criticize Pope's characterization of Bacon as "the wisest, brightest and the meanest of mankind.*

Or

(b) *Reconstruct the personality of Bacon from his essays.*

Or

(c) *"In his essays we are brought against the most puzzling and interesting thing about Bacon (as clearly repeated in his writings as in his career)* (a) *the complexily of his character and* (b) *the dichotomy of values advocated by him" comment.*

Ans. Truth for Bacon, it seems, is by no means indivisible. There are two principles at the back of his mind. A few typical illustrations will make this clear. While he states with emotion in one of his essays on "Truth"—"Certainly, it is heaven upon earth to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth," he, at the same time, advocates the duty of promoting the good of one's country by no means excluding one's good. Both in his life and in his essays he took the view that when the two clashed, it was the former that had to yield. This was because in the intriguing world of Bacon any public man who wan ed to carve out for himself a career could only have it only on these terms. The real key to B con's life is to be found in his self-revelation in his favourite quotation : "My soul hath been a stranger in the course of my pilgrimage." Even though animated by a high ideal of government and law, he had to stoop to be the instrument of petty policy of James

under whom promotion came to him Though an advocate of self-interest in practical life for worldly success we come across a self-revealing passage like this—"Be so true to thyself as thou be not false to others; especially to thy king and coun·ry". This noble sentiment seems to be und·rmined by another passage: "All rising to great place is by a winding stair; and if there be factions, it is good to side a man's self whilst he is in the rising and to balance bimself when he is placed." Again, after this such a passage as this would be shocking; "This best composition and temperature is to have openness in fame and opinion; secrecy in habit; dissimulation in reasonable use; and a power to feign, if there be no remedy". Though a believer in Machiavellian principles, he could write: "Clear and sound dealing is the hounour of a man's nature." There is a certain touch of pathos of a self-revealing character in another of his favourite quotation: "My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace." which he uses to emphasise his own words: "They are happy men whose natures sort with their vocations." The truth is that Bacon, like many politicians failed to solve the problem of maintaining the standards of private morality in public life, and was self-revealing in many of his essays, which explains the apparent complexity and contradiction of his character.

Q. 7. *In what way does Bacon represent the spirit, temper and methods of his time?*

Or

Show how Bacon's essays reflect the Renaissance spirit.?

Ans. See Chapter X in the General Introduction.

Q. 8. *"The essays seem to be the work of an opportunist." Discuss this criticism of Bacon's essays.*

Or

What evidence of astute expediency do you find in Bacon's essays?

Or

Discuss the statement the prudential and non-moral treatment of material makes "Bacon's essays" second rate literature.

Or

"It is the great range of his observations, not any philosophical originality that the appeal of Bacon's essays lie." Discuss,

Or

Would you say that Bacon was right in thinking that the popularity of his essays was due to their practical value.

Ans. Bacon figures as a moralist and a politician in a large proportion of his essays dealing with ethical qualities of man in social conduct or with matters concerning the government of kingdoms or State. He was also a philosopher and a scientist, but as his essays were merely "recreations" he did not write a single essay on either philosophical or scientific subject. As a philosopher, he belonged to the pragmatic school Pragmatism is the doctrine that "the conception of an object is no more than the conception of its possible *practical effect*." Both as a scientist and a philosopher, he was the pioneer of *empiricism* and the father *of empirical philosophy*. Unlike science, in social conduct he felt that nobody could lay down general principles of absolute validity which are applicable to all time, places and circumstances. A statesmen or a politician or a social philosopher should not start with certain hard or fast maxims or theories of absolute validity nor act upon them without reference to the exact nature of the situation or circumstances he has to face or the character of the man with whom he has to work or the people he has to legislate for or lay down rules of conduct. Bacon the scientist was empyric in his attitude. So his social scientist was also coloured both by his empyricism and pragmatism. As a scientist, he hoped to unravel the secrets of nature through experiments and observation so as to find out laws of universal application and validity to social phenomena.

So, Bacon the moralist, make no pretence to system in his essays. Here the decisive factor was *expediency* i.e , whatever is more politic than just—more prudential than right—more partial and shrewd than strictly moral. *This Sospel of expediency grow out of his life-experience.* Statesmen, for instance, should consider, in international agreement, what will wake *their* country prosperous *letting other countries look after themselves as best as they could.* This is the lesson that his own life taught him. Thus, the greatest influence on his life and writings was his life-experience *i.e.* the results of his own observance of life and manners, which constitute the foundation of his gospel of experiences in social conduct for a 'pragmatic' man or the man of action that he was, for he was a true disciple of Machiavelli whose advocacy of 'pragmatism' was characteristic of European thought before he was born. Expediency is dictated by *self-interest*—the ruling motive of the common man and prudence because man acts from adequate motives, relative to his interest above all considerations, if he is to succeed in life. Pragmatism believes that the value of an action is to be judged by its practical advantages. He would indeed be a poor politician or statesman who is unable to suit his means to the needs of the end. Like Machiavelli, Bacon recognised that politics was ruled by changing conditions and the politician must grapple with these conditions in the right time and in the right manner. This is not really opportunism but real sagacity and prudence although the standard of morality may be no higher than that of ever. age humanity, which is admittedly neither a very elevated nor an elevating ideal. Bacon is thus a pragmatist in that he judges the rightness or wrongness of an action by its *effect*, ro be considered with reference to the good not of the individual but of the State Knowledge, too, is to be judged by its results or fruits, for fruit, in fact, is not so much the justification as the test of knowledge. "The removal of superstition, refinement of manners and improvement of morals are all included in the *fruit* of knowledge. Bacon was not thinking merely of additions to man's stock of material comforts. But he was deeply impressed with the idea that what Nature does we can do, if we can only

find out how he does it. And man may, if he will, possess himself of the key to the interpretation of Nature"

The dominant idea is that the man of action must have high aspiration and ambition "like the *lark* that can mount and sign and please himself", as it soars high up in the sky. But he should at the same time do well to cultivate "the virtues of the *hawk*" for success in the battle of life. Most of Bacon's essays contain these prescriptions, for the practice of the arts or rather *artifices* that help us to rise in the world and to succeed in life. He is so idealist or moralist of Johnsonian type. He makes his ethics a handmaid to theology. His maxims are practical, prudential, expedient and utilitarian. Adaptation to circumstances is their highest goal. He had to be a time-server in life to gain his ends like a selfish opportunist, always preferring what he can do to what should be done. "None of his contemporaries had perhaps greater foresight suppleness, tact and prudence than Bacon – for clear-headed prudential considerations at least he was unequalled." When he was left a poor man by his father's death, he was forced to become a suitor to those in power for a high office in the State for which he was eminently fitted. The traditions of his family made him ambitious and he looked naturally to a public career, for life at court with its pageantry attracted him but he was unsuccessful. He got nothing from Queen Elizabeth whom he had offended for vigorously opp sing a demand for a large subsidy. In the House of Commons, however, he found his talents recognised. But he was not satisfied with his position. He wanted a public office carrying a high salary, which could ensure him sufficient means and also leisure for his scientific work, which he thought was fraught with untold blessings to man. He was a man of high wisdom, a brilliant speaker and a careful observer of men and things. He was also very supple, subservient and above all, a pliant instrument. But his conduct towards his generous friends and patron – the Earl of Essex—had stamped his name with undying infamy. So he could not win for himself the good graces of the Queen. But in the times of James I, his promotion was very rapid. He became Solicitor-General in 1607. Attorney-General in 1613. Lord.

Keeper in 1617 and Lord-Chancellor in 1618. In 1621, he was charged before the House of Lords with bribery, and confused that he had been guilty of 'corruption and neglect' but denied that he had ever perverted justice. He was deprived of the great seal, fined and condemned to confinement. He had to remain in the Tower only a few days. No wonder Pope described him as "the wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind". He had by now realised that success in the selfish had intriguing world in which he lived, was hard to get without servility, adoptation, flexibility, artful compliance, skilfulness, in pleasing those in power. Besides his intellectual gifts, he had to cultivate tact, suppleness and elasticity to please the new King, James I, that he was not really an opportunist, will be clear from his favourite quotation, "My soul hath been a stranger in the course of my pilgrimage." So we must not take a harsh view of his character. We must remember that Bacon had to adapt himself to the conditions of a selfish and intriguing world which forced him to study and practise the arts by which alone material success in life was to be won. He was really destined, by capacity and inclination, to be lifelong student but being left a poor man by his father's death, he was forced to try for a public career though animated by a high ideal of government and law, he had to stoop down so low as to be a willing and pliant instrument in the hands of his king who failed to appreciate his higher aims and statesmanship. Though profoundly religious at heart and filled with high principles of morality, he had to sacrifice most of them at the altar of worldly success. All those factors are to be taken into considerafion to mitigate our judgment of Bacon's *real character*. "The temptations of his age were not those of ours. The persistent cultivation of the great, from which we are inclined to recoil, is not a graver fault than the flattery of a party or a class which besets the pushing politician of today and the abandonment of an old friend in time of danger wore a less repulsive aspect to an age in which 'fortune and virtue' were recognised as the sole determining factor in public life. It was an age in which all statesmen lived dangerously and when the tower and the scaffold were familiar incidents in a State whose government had but recently become stable and secure, where persons

still counted far more than parties, and plots and counter-plots had not yet been superseded by the more peaceful methods of party policy. It should also never be forgotten that whatever may be thought of the great Chancellor, his closest and intimate friends, Rowley, his chaplain, and Sir Toby Matthew, who knew his inmost mind, never faltered in their admiration." (Matheson).

As already observed, Bacon's 'Essays' owe its position as a classic of the language not because of their subjectmatter but of their inimitable style and literary flavour and these practical utility of some of them to the man of the world. This point has been discussed above.

Q. 9. *Justify or criticize that Bacon's essays are a compendium of percepts of rather reflections, which are true of all men for all time and in all places."*

Or

Matheson says that "Bacon's essays represent rather the reflections of a politic player of the game of life summed up in short, pregnant sayings that strike the imagination and cling to memory. The affect of one is diffused humanity, of the other an insight into human nature, pointed with a consumate mastery of single words and phrases." Elaborate.

Ans. As an essayist Bacon stands in the front rank of English Essayists. He can be truly called 'the father of the English Essay.' He borrowed the general conception of the essay from the French writer and philosopher, Montaigne. Montaigne's essays had appeared 7 years before Bacon's first edition Bacon found that the form was suitable enough to receive many thoughts of his own mind. He, therefore, takes the form from Montaigne but fills it with material drawn from his own mind. He had a rare capacity to say pregnant thoughts on almost any theme that he took up in his essays. The great Bacon critic, Matheson, has rightly remarked, "The essays have won him a place apart, and are the source of his fame with the world at large. They introduced a new form of composition into English Literature which was destined to have a

varied and fruitful development." Here it should be clearly noted that though Baçon borrows the word 'essay' from Montaigne, he has very little in common with the French writer. Like the French writer, of course, Bacon's essays consist of notes on life and human nature. But beyond that the similarity ends. The charm of Montaigne is of one kind; the charm of Bacon is of another kind. Montaigne offers shrewd comments on men and things observed at leisure by a humane and open eye observer. The charm of his personality. As against him, Bacon's essays represent the reflections of a polite player of the game of life. The charm of the essays, therefore, is not so much the charm of the personality. The greatest beauty of his essays consists in pregnant sayings that strike the imagination and cling to the memory. The result is if Montaigne gives us the effect of a kind and human nature, Bacon's essays offer us an insight into human nature made possible by a perfect mastery of single words and phrases. Macaulay is not unjustified in saying that Bacon s essays "have produced indeed a vast defect on the opinions of mankinds......They have moved the world." Thus it is clear that the charm of Bacon's essays is not the charm of a rich, warm and human personality. In the essays of Bacon we come across counsels of moral wisdom and public and private virtues. But the atmosphere in the essay is not that of a warm personality; it is of 'business' of cold blooded expediency, and sometimes of unscrupulous self interest.. Here it will not be out of place to compare Bacon with another great English essayist Lamb. The charm of Lamb's essays is the same as that of Montaigne's: In each case there remains behind the essays warm, palpable, kind hearted personality. The moment we read them we make friends with them, we feel their rich personality lingering behind the lines. But Bacon in this respect does not belong to the School of Montaigne and Lamb. He speaks with a very high degree of objectivity. He is interested in man and his affairs but in writing of them he maintains a high degree of aloofness.

Thus it is clear that Bacon's essays are a compendium

of precepts or rather reflections. So far it is very correct. The charm of his essays is not the charm of personality. The essays of Lamb and of Stevenson cause us pleasure because behind them lurk the wonderful personality of the author. In Bacon's essays the charm is mainly the charm of precepts, wise sayings, and some beautiful expressions.

But when we come to the next part of the question that his essays are 'true of all man, for all time and in all places', we find it difficult to justify this kind of statement. His essays are no doubt full of pregnant thoughts and wise sayings but these thoughts are not true of all men, for all time and in all places. This is an exaggeration. For example Bacon's Essays were not true of Blake. He found them simply good advice for Satan's kingdom. And thus he rejected them outright. Similarly any person who looks for high moral and ethical note in these essays will meet with disappointment. But these essays are true of all those men who are concerned with the question of carrying on their life in this world. Broadly speaking we can divide the Counsels he gave to man into three categories :

(1) Man in his relation to a Supreme Being ;

(2) Man in his relation to himself ; and

(3) Man in his relation to Society and the World.

In doing so he wanted give to the human mind a direction which, he thought, "it shall retain for ages." More than half of his essays deal with public life or public affairs. In many of them the statesman or courtier is the main figure. When he is thinking of man in his relation to himself, he writes on subjects such as Truth and Love, Simulation and Dissimulation, of Goodness and goodness of Nature and the Life. He counted himself a master in the art of managing men. Therefore, G. H. Mair in his book Modern English Literature, suggests that 'Human Nature and How To Manage It' would be a good title for his book of Essays. The Essays which deal with public matters are a kind of manual for statesmen and princes instructing them how to acquire power and how to keep it.

They also suggest how far these public servants may go safely in the direction of self-interest, and to what degree the principle of self-interest must be subordinated to the wider interest of the people who are ruled. The Spirit of curious and restless inquiry which animated Bacon finds expression in most of his Essays such as 'Health', 'Gardens', 'Plantations' and others of the kind. Essays of this kind are full of precepts or reflection which are true of all men.

There are many essays which contain precepts or reflections which are not true for all time and in all places. We should not forget that his essays included those very observations of life which surrounded him. This is particularly true of his political essays. The kingdom and politics are those of his own age or of the Graeco-Roman world. Naturally, as Matheson points out, "His reflections on public policy take the colour of his age." In other words his essays reflect his experience of men and the world with whom he lived. They reveal a habit of thought and action which is naturally generated under despotic rule. When all depends on the favour of one man, men will try to gain his favour, by hook or by crook The result is that the peculiar topics of his essays are the topics which deal with the art of *cunning*, the *behaviour of suitors*, the advantages *of simulation and dissimulation* and other subjects of the same kind F. G. Selby very correctly points out, "probably nothing in the whole range of literature would have been more appreciated in the Court of an Oriental despot than these essays.........". He was writing in an age and in the court where the pleasure of one person was the very qualification to go up in life. The temptations of his age were different from the temptations of our age. We may not desire the friendship of the great and yet we may acquire an eminent position in life. But the friendship of the great was the only qualification in his time to rise in social life and the abandonment of the old friends in time of danger was a less repulsive aspect of his age. All these conditions have changed in our time and therefore many of Bacon's reflections are not true today.

From the above discussion it is clear that some of the essays of Bacon have become outdated in subject matter. No longer do they contain precepts which are true of all men, for all time and with all pleasure. But there are still many essays which contain precepts which are true of all men, of all time and in all places. A few examples may be quoted : On Cunning he says :

"In things that a man would not be seen in himself it is a point of cunning to borrow the name of the world ; as to say. The world says, or There is a speech abroad."

About Seeming Wise he points out :

"Some help themselves with countenance and gesture, and are wise by signs ; as Cicero saith Piso, that when he answered him, he fetched one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the other down to his chint."

About Riches he is confident that :

"The ways to enrich are many, and most of the them foul."

and he further says :

"Be not penny-wise ; riches have wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be sent clying to bring in more."

and about Beauty he feels :

Beauty is as summer fruits, which are easy to corrupt, and cannot last ; and for the most part it makes a dissolute youth, and as age a little out of countenance ; but yet certainly again, if it light well, it maketh virtue shine, and vices blush."

Now nobody can deny the universal nature of these precepts. Bacon's essays are full of them. Many more striking examples can be quoted. To sum up we can say that some of the essays, particularly those containing precepts on political matters are out of date. Some of the essays dealing with matters of domestic life and love and other emotional subjects are not true of all men. But some other essays, and they are quite a few in number, contain precepts which are true of all men for all time and

in all places. Even in future their validity will continue to be there. They will invariably come to men's business and bosoms. They will continue to be current and in these precept Bacon will continue to have his hold on the popular mind.

Q. 10. *Criticize or support Black's verdict on Bacon's essays as "Good advice for Satan's kingdom."*

Ans. Bacon's Essays have fascinated a countless generation of mankind. An inevitably there are admirers as well as critics. His essays have been admired in very enthusiastic words by people of different culture and tastes In the opinion of Hudson, "Extraordinary insight and sagacity are there (essays) s lient qualities; beyond perhaps any other book of the same size in and literature they are loaded with the ripest wisdom of experience......" In the opinion of Matheson: "The essays have won him a place apart, and are the source of his fame with the word at large." In the opinion of Legouis the essential merit of his essays lies: "in the density of thought and expression, the frequent brilliancy of the poetic images, inserted never as ornaments but always to emphasize an idea, and the impressive loftyness of the oracular tone." In the opinion of Macaulay the essays of Bacon have produced a vast effect on the opinion of mankind. "It is by the Essays that Bacon is best known to the multitude.........They have moved the world." Many m re opinions can be quoted in this connection where people have levishly praised Bacon's Essays both for their matter and manner. As against these opinions, there are certain critics who have found fault with the morality of Bacon's Essays. Even a very sympathetic critic of Bacon's Essays finds them "to be the work of an opportunist." Not only this, the same critic (Hugh Walker) points out that the moral tone of Bacon's Essays is not at all elevating. It is in the same spirit that Blake has said that Bacon's Essays can be called 'Good advice for Satan's kingdom.' It is a very severe and harsh judgment on the essays of Bacon. Nobody can deny the fact that the tone of Bacon's Essays is not very elevating. His morals are the morals of this world. And yet he does belong to Satan's party. If his essays embody cunning and crafty advice they

also embody some very noble passages on many things. In his essay on Truth Bacon says *"A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure."* But in the same essay he further adds :

"But howsoever these things are thus in men's depraved judgments and affections, yet truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the lovemaking or wooing of it, the kdowledge of truth, which is the presence of it, and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature."

Similarly if on Love he says :

"The stage is more beholding to Love, than the life of man. For as to the stage, love is ever matter of comedies, and now and then of tragedies ; but in life it doth much mischief ; sometimes like a siren, sometimes like a fury."

But at the same time he adds :

"Nuptial love maketh mankind ; friendly love perfecteth it ; but wanton love corrupteth and embaseth it."

An on Adversity he says :

"Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes ; and Adversity is not without comforts and hopes."

"Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed or crushed ; for Prosperity doth best discover vice, but Adversity doth best discover virtue."

About Expense he feels :

"Riches are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions. Therefore extraordinary expense must be limited by the worth of the occasion ; for voluntary undoing may be as well for a man's country as for the kingdom of heaven."

Do these words of advice belong to the kingdom of Bacon ? Do these a very cursory of his Essays will convince even the most staunch critic of Bacon that his essays are not to be called good advice for Satan's kingdom.

Black pronounced this severe judgment on Bacon's

Essays perhaps by misunderstanding the background and purpose of the essays. As a moralist Bacon does not preach things of the spirit and the soul. Black, a highly religious spirit, looked for thing of the spirit and soul in Bacon's Essays. He found them missing there and naturally he called them advice for Satan's kingdom. He forgot that Bacon was the product of the Renaissance. Man's glory, his opportunities of mind and body, his joy in learning, discovering, weighing, creating—all these excited the mind of Bacon. Like Hamlet he felt, "What a piece of work is man !" So Bacon was concerned with man and the things Man had made. But unfortunately Bacon interpreted Man narrowly. In his opinion Man was made up of the mind and the material needs. He excluded the life of the Spirit completely. And there he caused irritation to Blake and many other such men who are of the like mind. Bacon studied man in the spirit of Machiavilli. Most of the essays deal with public matters. In his morals Bacon is mostly suggesting things for Statesmen and Princes, instructing them how to acquire power and how to keep it. He points out how far they may go safely in the direction of self-interest, and to what degree the principle of self-interest must be subordinated to the wider interest of the people who are ruled. Throughout the essays the moral tone is the tone of a man concerned with the matters of this world. The famous French critic Legouis is very correct when he points out that "it is the art of success among men which is the subject of his essays. He points men to the part he should play on the stage of social life, as is indicated in the sub-title of this Book : Counsels Civil and Morals." As morals of this world, his sayings have singular force and weight. Many of them have become proverbs.

Perhaps it is more accurate to say that the moral tone of Bacon is not consistently high. He cannot be classed with the highest teachers of the world. He does recognize the element of goodness in human life, but this recognition is always qualified by recognition of evil and meanness. And unfortunately the total impression is that he leans heavily on the side of the evil than the good. A comparison with the Chinese philosopher Confusius will make the point

clear. Confusius in his book deals with the conduct of every day life and he is concerned with Man and thinks of Man. But his tone is elevating ; his morals are good to the moral life of the people. Nowhere does he become base or an opportunist. In case of Bacon this cannot be said. Unfortunately the moral tone of his essays is not elevating. Quite often he appears to be a crafty and clever man preaching the things which belong to the kingdom of Satan. Material success and service to humanity were his objects in life. Both these aims were high but they came in conflict with each other in his own life. He cared more for material success, and personal considerations became important. The result was that his tone suffered. He became vory often a selfish and self seeking person. This impression is confirmed by the reading of his essays. He admires truth, moral as well as intellectual. He was noble and honest in the pursuit of intellectual problems Naturally in his Essays he says, "Clear and round dealing is the honour of man's nature." But then at the same time he cannot help saying things which are morally bad. He says in the same breath in which he admires truth that "a mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure." He also points out that "mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better." though the metal may be debased. The same kind of dubious moral tone prevail in his essay on Simulation and Dissimulation. His conclusion in that essay is that "The Best Composition and Temperature is : to have openness in fame and opinion ; secrecy in habit ; his simulation in seasonably use ; and a power to feign, if there be no remedy." Hugh Walker rightly points out, "It is not an elevated or an elevating ideal." Even in matters where emotional life is concerned Bacon's moral tone is not elevating and encouraging. In his opinion wife and children are "hostages to fortune." "Impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or of mischief" The moral tone in his Essays is decidedly questionable. In comparison he has much better things to say in his serious philosophical works where scholarship and not human nature, is his concern.

The simple reason that explains this lack of high moral

tone for which Blake condemned Bacon's Essays is the peculiar nature and the qualifications of the Man himself. He was gifted with a rare largeness of mind but unfortunately he had a very narrow soul. In other words things of the mind appealed to him very much but things of the heart and the soul were a closed book to him. He could not respond to them in the same degree in which he responded to things of the mind. His serious philosophical and scientific works bear testimony to it. Regarding his intellectual understanding and the largeness of his mind Macaulay has rightly compared his understanding to the tent which the fairy Paribana gave to Prince Ahmed. In the words of Macaulay Bacon's understanding "resembled the tent which the fairy Paribana gave to Prince Ahmed. Fold it; and it seems a toy for the hand of a lady. Spread it; and the armies of powerful Sultans might repose beneath its shade." In simple words it means that his small mind could contain very many big thoughts and ideas. The largeness of his mind was all his own In keenness of observation he has been equalled but not surpassed. But unfortunately this largeness of mind was not matched with an equal largeness of the heart.

To sum up we can say that no careful and critical reader of Bacon fully support Blacke's verdict on Bacon's Essays as good advice for Satan's kingdom. It is an unusually severe judgment. It is a lop-sided judgment. Bacon did not preach the things of the heart and the spirit and Blake based his judgment on this deficiency in Bacon's Essays. Black refused to admit that in certain matters Bacon was not of the kingdom of Satan. His essay on Plantations proves it fully well. In political matters he had very sound and wise things to say. In the opinion of Hugh Walk'r England would have escaped from comitting some serious mistakes if it had listened to Bacon's words. Regarding his very sound opinions Hugh Walker says, "Had they been accepted from Bacon the worst mistakes of England in her relations with the Colonies might have been avoided. This Bacon's advice is not always the advice of Satan.

Q. 11. *"I have taken all knowledge for my province" (Bacon). What evidence of this encyclopaedic knowledge do you find in his essays.*

Ans. Even a cursory glance at the essays will bear out the truth of Bacon's statement quoted above. Bacon wrote fifty-nine essays on different topics which cover a wide range of ideas and various aspects of human life. Bacon had acquired wide and versatile knowledge. He was a philosopher, scientist, literary scholar, statesman, lawyer and above all a practical man of the world. His great learning is fully reflected throughout his essays. We frequently come across quotations from the Scriptures, ancient Greek writers and classical literature. His essays abound in mythological allusions too. All this is proof positive of his wide and varied study.

He was a keen student of morality and religion and the current controversies prevalent in the church. His essays 'Of Truth', 'Of Superstitions', 'Of Atheism', 'Of Unity in Religion' 'Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature' and 'Of Innovation' reveal his deep and earnest interest in religious ecclesiastical matters and moral and ethical values.

That he took part and interest in politics is quite evident from a perusal of his essays like: 'Of Great Place', 'Of Nobility', 'Of Seditions and Troubles', 'Of The Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates', etc. He was quite conversant with intrigues and factions prevailing at royal courts and knew the ins and outs of court life. His essays fully reflect his views about kings and courtiers and his experiences as a statesman and lawyer. His essays 'Of Judicature' and 'Of Suitors' also deal with court life, dispensation of justice, corruption rampant among clerks and attendants, and the plight of litigants and clients of lawyers.

Some of Bacon's essays such as 'Of Usury' and 'Of Plantations' throw light on his economic views. His economic theories are not tenable at pre ent. They are rather out-dated and antiquited, though some of them hold good even now. Anyhow he was keenly aware of the economic problems of his time and offered his own solution

for these ills. Thus he was an economist and politician in one.

That he possessed the brain of an engineer and architect is obvious from his essays : 'Of Gardens' and 'Of Building'. He displayed a remarkable knowledge about designing and decorating buildings and lay out of gardens and places. His knowledge of botany and plants and flowers shows that he was a scientist of no mean order. He mentions hundreds of flowers and plants growing in different seasons of the year.

Bacon's essays reveal another capacity of his—the capacity of a worldly wise and practical man. He took interest in any and every aspect of human life. His range of study and interest was very wide. He was a keen observer of human life and had a deep insight into human nature. He studied different patterns of mental, physical and spiritual processes. He studied envy, love, anger, vanity, superstition, suspicion, etc., with the keenness and comprehension of a psychologist. He analysed these emotions and sentiments threadbare and gave sound sane and scientific views about these psychological problems.

His essay 'Of Masques and Triumphs' reveals to us his highly developed sense as a dramatic critic. His knowledge of the stage and its requirements, actors and their roles, their dresses and make-ups, and details of the dramatic art are remarkable. The more we study his essays, the greater is the charm and interest and something new, or novel strikes us every time we read an essay. A new interpretation confronts the reader as if making a sudden appearance from behind the hide-out of words.

The number of essays and the variety of themes dealt with therein bear testimony to Bacon's wide knowledge of men and matters, his profound scholarship, his thorough and masterly study of Greek mythology, Roman poets and historians and classical literature besides his acquaintance with the Scriptures.

One striking feature of the essays of Bacon is his spirit of independence. He expresses fearlessly whatever he feels or is impelled by consience to give vent to. He pours out

his heart as it were before the reader. He thinks deeply over some problem and then gives his verdict once for all and sticks to it permanently. His views are solid and unchangeable. Of course his essays bear a tinge of the mood in which they were written. Difference of mood leads to a variety of topic and treatment of the subject.

To sum up, Bacon's essays contain a remarkable variety of subjects that reveal his width of knowledge, richness of experience, depth of learning, profundity of insight into human nature, and breadth of vision. He was a scientist, statesman, scholar, philosopher, courtier and a practical man of the world. His knowledge of classical literature, Greek mythology, Roman history, ancient philosophy and current affairs, political, religious, social and economic, was wonderful. And this knowledge in all its varied aspects is interspersed in his essays which are encyclopaedic in character.

Q. 12. *Consider Bacon's "essays" as 'grain of salt that would rather give an appetite than offend with satiety."*

Or

Account for the perennial freshness of Bacon's Essays.

Or

"Bacon's are true essays, surveys of the world of thought and experience but with the author at the centre." Discuss.

Or

"He is not a companion but a teacher" Investigate this charge against Bacon.

Ans. A writer becomes boring when he assumes the role of a teacher or schoolmaster and tires the reader with frequent 'dos', and dont's'. He thrusts his sermons and admonitions on unwilling ears and thus his writing becomes dull, insipid and monotonous. But that is not so with Bacon. Bacon has the knack of blending moralism with prudence and idealism with realism. Of Course, in some of his essays

he deals purely with ethical principles and high moral values. But even there he does not bore us as a moralist. He overcomes this unpleasant effect by recourse to a charming style, employing short, pithy and aphoristic sentences which have a ready appeal and stick or cling to memory like maxims or proverbs. They are easily picked up and remembered by the reader. Numerous such sentences have passed for proverbs in the English language and are freely and frequently quoted by English writers and speakers. They add a peculiar charm and force and lend a beauty of their own to the writing of an author or the speech of an orator. It is this charm and beauty of Bacon's style that covers his flaw of moralism or vice of sermonizing in some of his essays dealing with ideal or ethical aspects of human life or practical wisdom and maxims for worldly success. Even in these essays he gives touches of realism and blends prudence in a manner that imparts interest and charm to them.

Most of Bacon's essays deal with themes that are interesting by themselves. For example, Of Garden', 'Of Buildings', 'Of Masques and Triumphs', 'Of Travel', 'Of Expense',. 'Of Suitors'', 'Of Usury', 'Of Discourse', 'Of Deformity,' 'Of Judicature and numerous others of this type are such essays as have a general appeal for common people. They are entirely free from moral reflections and ethical considerations. They have touch of the mystical or other-wordly. They deal with matter of fact realities and things of daily and common place interest. Hence these essays are, as it were, grains of salt that stimulate appetite rather than induce satiety. The reader does not feel tired or fed up. His interest grows as he reads them. Every sentence charms the reader because of the wisdom contained in it, and owing to the beauty of its direct, simple, lucid and forceful construction.

Another factor conducive to the charm and effect of Bacon's essays is the freshness or newness of his ideas. Bacon is a most original writer. He entertains the reader with novel and new ideas. This originality of thought combined with his peculiarity and novelty of expression lends an inimitable charm to his essays and a force and vigour to his style.

He compresses so much wisdom in short, pithy sentences that a single sentence can be developed into a big paragraph or even a full-fledged essay.

Variety of theme, too, contributes largely to the interest and charm marking his essays. A man of any taste, vulgar or refined, literate or uneducated, crafty or simple, high or low, can find enough of material to his liking in Bacon's essays. A king would read his essays with full interest and rapt attention and so with a gardener or a litigant. A scholar or literary man will be greatly struck by his scientific knowledge and profound learning. A politician will be surprised at his sound knowledge of court life and his experience, wisdom, tact and statesmanship. A philosopher too cannot but admire his depth of insight and breadth of vision. A saint or religious reformer will certainly appreciate his ethical views and moral judgments. A scientist will wonder at his spirit of enquiry and research, systematic study of a subject and scientific approach in every sphere of knowledge. In fact, his essays are a compendium of precepts and an encyclopædia of knowledge.

To illustrate his pithy and aphoristic style and give some idea of his wide knowledge, wisdom and experience we may quote some examples from his essays :—

1. Men fear death, as children fear to go in the dark.

2. Revenge triumphs over death ; Love slights it ; Honour aspireth to it ; Grief flieth to it ; Fear pre-occupiteth it.

3. He that dies in an earnest pursuit is like one that is wounded in hot blood.

4. Revenge is a kind of wild justice.

5. A man that studieth revenge keeps his own wounds green which otherwise would heal and do well.

6. The virtue of prosperity is temperance ; the virtue of adversity is fortitude.

7. It is good that a man's face give his tongue leave to speak.

8. Tell a lie and find a troth.

9. Children sweeten labours, but they make misfortunes more bitter.

10. He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune.

11. Wives are young men's mistresses ; companions for middle age ; and old men's nurses.

12. A man that is busy and inquisitive, is commonly envious.

13. Much bruit little fruit.

14. It is impossible to love and to be wise.

15. Nuptial love maketh mankind ; friendly love perfecteth it ; but wanton love corrupteth and baseth it.

16. Certainly great men had needed to borrow other men's opinion to think themselves happy.

17. In place there is licence to do good and evil.

18. Merit and good works is the end of man's motion ; and conscience of the same is the accomplishment of man's rest.

19. Severity breedeth fear, but roughness breedeth hate.

20. In charity there is no excess.

21. The rebellions of the belly are the worst.

22. One man's folly is another man's fortune.

23. Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light.

24. No receipt openeth the heart, but a true friend.

25. Riches are for spending, and spending for honour and good action.

These are only a few examples. Such maxims and wise sayings abound in Bacon's essays. He was a past master in the judicious and appropriate selection and use of words. He used them with utmost economy and care. Not a single word is misplaced or superfluous. Replace one word and you mar not only the beauty but the sense also. His pithy, terse and aphoristic style has won him a place of honour in English literature.

Q. 13. (a) *To what extent Bacon's political and economical views are outmoded, old fashioned and out of date? and* (b) *in what particular fields are his observations true for ever?*

Ans. In the first place he identifies public good with the good of kings and princes. His political views are coloured by the Greek conception of State absolutism. He takes for granted like Aristotle that States are, by their very nature, hostile to one another and that war is a prime necessity. True greatness of a country is its territory which has to be expanded at the expense of neighbouring State by military or naval adventure. In Bacon, we miss the modern democratic note, as he had no place in his scheme of things for he has no conception of social equality and equality of opportunity for cultural betterment of the common man. Like the Greeks, Bacon despised the workers. He was a strong advocate of Parliaments; but in all matters of importance, he thought that the King and not the Parliament, should take the initiative. "His policy of expansionism and colonialism through war is outmoded now. He advocates the utility of a thing from the point of view of their advantage to the King, who is to set up new parties of his own in Parliament. Most of his political essays are full of the teachings of Machiavelli. They breathe the gospel of territorial expansion, aggression on neighouring States, increase of revenue by commerce, manufacture and investigation through the application of Mercantilist theory, and through militarism. His economics is exploded. He had no faith in Banks which, he thinks, disturb the balance by trade by carrying gold and silver to foreign countries. No sound economist can now think of entrusting a nation's capital to private moneylenders. His views on usury stand discre-

dited. The tone of some of his essays on domestic relations is distinctly cynical. Practical and prudential considerations predominate everywhere. Occasionally, he even lays down rates for immoral conduct without a word of overt disapproval. Even his maxims are prudential. He appears to be looking down with absolute dispassionateness from a height and determining, what course of conduct pays best from the disgusting, loathsome and vile from the moral point of view but as a thing unwise. All art—the art of the essay not excepted—to be truly great for all time to come, must be moralised *i.e.*, must be in harmony with those eternal principles of conduct, that tone of feeling, which is the self-preservative instinct of civilized humanity to strengthen. This does not mean that the artist should be obtrusively and consciously didactic, as Bacon is, according to Machiavellian principles of conduct, because the objects of ethics and art (literary art of the essay, as a new species of literary composition) are distinct. If it is admitted that the whole struggle of the human race from barbarism to civilisation is one continuous effort to maintain its moral dignity, and harmony, artists who aspire to greatness can never afford to be indifferent to ethics. They must always feel the awe of the moral law within which Kant coupled with the awe of the starry heavens above. We must admit that in spite of his intellectualism, his constitutions to English prose, literature and his naturalisation of the essay in England, there is hardly a suggestion of the spirit of the saying, "Let justice be done, though the heavens should fall" in many of the Baconian maxims of human conduct. If we are to look for the eternal verities for reflections which are true of men and for all times—in Bacon, we must go to his observations on human nature and life." Bacon is a careful student of human nature. It is when he deals with the great drama of human life and action—motives, passion and relationship—thoughts, feelings, experiences, observations, imaginings—that we become aware of the depth of his insight and truth of his utterances. It is, then, that we feel that Bacon's great message to us is that we should always have high aims and develop worthy interests which must constitute that true source of real and abiding satisfaction to men of all races, times and places and that he was

admittedly one of our great masters in the *Art of Life* and *Living*. We feel that here is a man whose utterances show that he himself has been very close to those aspects and problems of life of which he speaks—who have looked at them with his own eyes—who by the keenness of his vision, his penetrating analysis of human motives, passions, feelings, aspirations and imaginings, has seen more deeply into things and, by the strength of his genius, has apprehended and interpreted their meaning more powerfully than the common race of men—and who, in addition, has the artist's wonderful faculty of making us see and feel with him.

[For answer to (b) see questions 5 & 9]

Q. 14. *Bacon is curt almost sibylline, entirely impersonal and averse from pure speculations. He deduces general maxims only from observations he has himself been able to make. Discuss.*

Ans. See questions 5 & 9. See also Chapter VI for desired portion only.

Q. 15. *Illustrate from the essays* (a) *Bacon's aptitude for "recognizing similarities ;"* (b) *his power of condensed expression* ; (c) *his love for tracing allegory in myths* ; *and* (d) *his fondness for metaphor*.

Ans. Bacon had a keen sense of analogy which enabled him to discover similar illustrations from various sources *e.g.*, weather, natural phenomena, lower animals, art of medicine, the human body, etc. Metaphors and similes are more frequent in the two later editions of his essays. The essays of the first edition contain plain, bald and matter-of-fact statements while in those of the two later editions, metaphors and similes acquire an almost poetic quality. Examples : 'Virtue is like precious odours more fragrant when they are incensed or crushed, for prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue." Again, "suspicions amongst thoughts are like bats among birds—they fly best by twilight." We find in Bacon many an original simile or apt analogy taken from various sources in his later essays which are remarkable for the constant use of

figurative language. Bacon's metaphors are strikingly ingenious, apt and even audacious as contrasted against the conceits and far-fetched metaphors and euphemisms of his contemporaries. We need not go very far for a striking example. Let us take a characteristic passage from the very first essay on 'Truth': "Certainly it is heaven upon earth to have a man's mind *more in charity*, rest in provindence, and turn upon the poles of truth" (as the stars do in their spheres). Other figures of speech, plentifully used by Bacon, are: epigram, climax, allegory, apostrophe, hyperbole, antithesis, etc. Everv figure and rhetorical device fit into place like a glove obeying the dictates of natural expression. He often begins with an epigram or ends with a sonorous climax or epigram. There are many examples of his concise and terse expressions full of pregnant metaphor and epigrammatic bravity. His sentences are brief, rapid and 'come down like the strokes of a hammer." His style was the fruit of conscious art. Bacon was really a consummate artist who was able to vary his style for different purposes. Hence, it is difficult to speak of only one style of Bacon. The language is perfectlv adapted to thought mood and purpose. There is little humour. It is full of literary reminiscences from Greek and Latin writers. Besides, it is full of quotations or deliberate misquotations torn from the context to suit his specific purposes. Apart from classical quotations, we see sentences and phrases from the Bible also woven into the very texture of his language. Bacon was thus able to naturalize not only a new species of literature (*viz.*, the essay) but also a new style of English prose. Sometimes, he writes in an ornate and stately style with a preference for words of Latin origin and Latinsed constructions. At other times, he uses the long sentence of intricate and not unoften involved structure, which presents occasional difficulties in understanding. We cannot agree with Reynolds when he says that Bacon's "expressions are the work of a great writer at his best—the highest effort of an art that defies analysis, simple, unaffected, sublime" We can only say that Bacon's prose is simpler than that of Hooker or Milton, who learnt to use the long rolling period from Cicero. In fact, there are many essays in which the structures of his sentences are as involved as Milton's or

Hooker's or Browne's and present difficulties not only of construction of grammar but also of comprehension. It is in the expressions that Bacon is often obscure. This obscurity sometimes proceeds from his attempt to put more meaning into his sentences than they can possibly bear. Bacon was also fond of tracing his allegories in myths. His writings are sown with short, pithy maxims which contain truths. That cannot age with time and take us into the regions of lasting wisdom. As he wrote in English, he thought he would be well-advised to translate the essays of Latin which he called " the universal language " at the same time in order to preserve them from oblivion. Yet the language he despised as a modern language " which will at one time or another play the bankrupt with books ", had its triumph after his death ; his Latin translations are now read only through the medium of English translations " while his *Essays* have become a classic of the language", not because of the subject-matter which was mostly of ephemeral interest but because of their inimitable terse, condensed and epigrammatic style and their literary reminiscences.

Supplement it by the relevant portion from Chapter VI in the General Introduction.

Q. 16. *Write a short essay on Bacon as a Philosopher. Did he make any definite contribution to the advancement of learning ?*

Ans. Bacon was a practical thinker whose aim was to discover the mysteries of Nature for the benefit of mankind. For this purpose he discarded the prevalent contemporary philosophy which was based upon guess-work and speculations having no reasoning which could withstand the scientific analysis. He firmly believed that the forces of Nature could be yoked and employed for the welfare of man. Thus he upheld the utilitarian view. To implement his programme he had to remove the sham knowledge and replace it by some real enlightenment for which man had been striving for ages. R. W. Church truly says, "His (Bacon's) object, to gain the key to the interpretation of Nature ; his methods,—to gain it, not by means common to all previous schools of philosophy, by untested reasoning

and imposing and high sounding generalizations, but by a series and scale of rigorously verified inductions, starting from the lowest facts of experience to discoveries which should prove and realise themselves by leading deductively to practical results—these in one form or another were the themes of his philosophical writings". Even Bacon himself wrote to Lord Burghley what he had in his mind, "I have taken all knowledge for my province, to purge it of frivolous disputations and blind experiments and whatever may happen to me, I mean to be a true pioneer to the mine of truth."

So he called men from mere generalizations to realities of experience, from unmeaning principles to a methodical system of cautious inferences. In order to achieve his object he formulated a scheme of philosophical studies known as *Insaturation Magna.* This scheme consisted of six parts. Here are these parts and general outline of things that he had to study.

(*i*) A Classification and Review of the State of the Sciences.

(*ii*) A new Inductive Method.

(*iii*) A Natural and Experimental History, on the basis of which inductions could be made.

(*iv*) Examples of Discoveries and Inventions achieved by the new method, set out in tables.

(*v*) A Temporary List of Discoveries and Inventions made in the course of scientific enquiry, but not according to new method.

(*vi*) A Scientific Synthesis of the Inductive Conclusions.

The general outline of the plan is clear enough. Although Bacon worked too hard in the last few years of his life to carry through the plan to the greatest extent, yet he could not do so.

Part I is represented by the *De Augmentis scientiarum* (published in 1623) ;

Part II is represented by the *Novum Organum* which is digested into aphorism and remains unfinished ;

Part III is represented by (*a*) An Introduction to Natural and Experimental History, the *Parasceve and Historiam Naturalem et Experimentalem*, and A Catalogue of Particular Histories; the *Catalogus Historiarum Particularium*, published in 1920 ;

(*b*) Some half dozen histories, only about half of which were completed by Bacon, in particular, the *Historia Ventorum* (History of Winds) published in 1622 and the *Historia Vitae et Mortis* (History of Life and Death) published in 1623 ; and

(*c*) Some miscellaneous works, including the *Sylva Sylvarum* (The Forest of Forests) published in 1627.

Parts IV and V are only represented by prefaces whose date of composition is uncertain.

Part VI is not represented by any extant work. Unfortunately Bacon could not complete the plan. The *De Augmentis* is a survey of knowledge existing in his time and of what Bacon thought to be the gaps in it. Despite its defects it is a wonderful achievement. Being a busy man, Bacon could not know some important knowledge available in his time. For example, he does not mention the astronomical discovery of Kepler in his survey. After pointing out gaps in human knowledge, his next job was to point out how the gaps could be filled. In this connection he suggests that ignorance and error have been due to various human weaknesses. These weaknesses could be removed by a proper scientific method. He called these human weaknesses as idols. These idols were of four kinds ; (1) Idols of the Trive, (2) Idols of the Cave, (3) Idols of the Market Place, and (4) Idols of the Theatre. Idols of the Trive lead to errors like narrow-mindedness, interference by emotion and desire, limitations of the senses, and a tendency to believe in the reality of near abstraction. The Idols of the Trive, he says, were common to all humanity. Idols of the Cave lead to error, peculiar to individuals from birth through training, habit or accident. To illustrate this point he mentions the tendency of scientists and philosophers to construct complete system according to their favourite subjects. Idols of the Market Place, Bacon

thought, were the sources of errors lying in language. In his opinion Idols of the Market Place were the most troublesome. He divided these Idols into two kinds, one kind arising from the names of things which do not exist, and the other from names detached from abstractions wrongly made. Idols of Theatre arise from false principles of philosophy and wrong rules of demonstration.

As a philosophical thinker, Bacon made a definite contribution to the advancement of learning. But there has been some controversy as to which part of Bacon's philosophy made the greatest contribution. In their famous edition of Bacon's works, Spedding and Ellis were divided in their opinions. Spedding felt that Bacon's classification and review of the sciences, his plan for a total natural history and philosophy, were of the greatest importance. Ellis, on the other hand, felt that the new Inductive Method advocated by Bacon was his greatest contribution to the advancement of learning. There are a number of critics who feel that neither his scientific method nor his inductive method made any contribution. They argue that science has not developed along the lines which Bacon recommended. These critics have even shown that Bacon's inductive method was quite unfitted for the solution of even the fundamental problems of science. But this does not undermine the position of Bacon and of his *Advancement of Learning*. Theodore Redpath points out, "Nevertheless the general principles of Baconian induction, and some of its details did have their influence on natural science, and on English mental, moral, and political philosophy. Furthermore, Bacon's account for induction was, in any case, an outstanding contribution to the logic of scientific method...But certainly one of Bacon's greatest contribution to the Advancement of Learning lay in his clear and eloquent expression of a philosophy of controlled empiricism, of the view that the future of science lay in systematic observation and controlled experiment."

Darwin, who himself was a philosopher and scientist, seems to have paid the greatest homage to Bacon when he confesses, while starting his scientific equiries, "I worked on true Baconian principles and without any theory, collected

facts on a wholesale scale." According to him the "defect of Bacon is that he neglected the function of the scientific imagination, the importance of hypothesis, although he possessed considerable scientific imagination".

[See also question No. 19]

Q. 17. *"I only sound the clarisn", he (Bacon) says, "but I enter not into the battle." Discuss with reference to the achievement of Bacon.*

Or

"No man would go to Bacon's works to learn any particular science or art......the art which Bacon taught was the art of inventing arts". Investigate the validity of Macaulay's statement against Bacon.

Ans. In certain fields of knowledge Bacon was the first man who invited the attention of others. He realized that his contemporary world was lulled and lost into traditions. The knowledge it was in possession of was sham and quack ; it was not based upon human experience and facts. Bacon firmly believed that all the philosophical truths so far said to have been discovered were nothing more than mere guess-work or speculations of unsystematic minds ; therefore, the mission of his life was to sweep away all such misconceptions from science and philosophy by the closest observation of facts of Nature and by making experiments with them as far as it was possible. But what Bacon achieved after his cautious and careful enquiries into different fields of knowledge was nothing more than a mere "idea" which he gave to succeeding generations. In his own words he was :

"A bell-ringer who is up first to call others to church".

It was a judicious assessment of his own achievements. In his *Advancement of Learning* he is one of the earliest who tried to consolidate and unify knowledge. It lays the foundation of new scientific methods. He speaks of knowledge as "a rich store-house for the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate". Bacon also discusses the causes of discredits of learning. Then he lays stresson the dignity and influence of learning. Next he refers to the defects

and vices prevalent at places or schools of learning. Bacon explores almost all branches of learning and points out the demerits and deficiencies of every branch. It inspires the spirit of research and discovery in young adventurous minds. The book contains everything what Bacon wanted to be about the advancement of learning, but it is simply an ideological objectivication of his mind which sets others to the field of discoveries.

The credit of introducing essay into English Literature is also given to Bacon. But it would be truer to say that he introduced the word in its literary sense into English language, for the Baconian essay has very little resemblance to the modern essay which Addison and Steele were to popularize. Montaigne published his essays in 1580 and they were translated into English in 1603 from which Bacon derived the word 'essay' : he meant by it, as he says, "certain brief notes set down rather significantly than curiously"—that is without literary care. His essays have thus no artistic form, being without beginning or ending, and consist in the main of oracular utterances interspersed with illustrative quotations and ancedotes strung together on a more or less thin thread of unity provided by the title.

Similarly in the field of history-writing he broke new grounds. The medieval chroniclers used to write in verse. They tried to cover huge period of time, nor they had any sense of developing character. Again they were not able to distinguish fact from fiction. History before Bacon was a congregation of rambling gossip.

Bacon wrote history in a new style. He deals with history scientifically, applying the inductive method, basing his account all the time on facts and leaving the facts to speak for themselves. His *History of Henry VII* stands out as the first notable history for its excellent character study of the king, for its historical sense and perspective, and for its attention to cause and effect. Thus Bacon gave the new idea of history as well.

The New Atlantis is the Baconian *Utopia*. Herein Bacon puts his dream of advanced knowledge and improved conditions of society. He also describes the social and

political arrangements in his imaginary island. His account of "Solomon's House" is quite attractive and gives the impression of a Research University. The purpose of "Solomon's House" was the study of the works of creature of God. The whole philosophy is presented in the form of a fable. The most important thing in the Island is a College of Science or Solomon's House where the pursuit of science is taken up for the benefit of men. *The New Atlantis* is a book which anticipated the establishment of the Royal Society. This Society rendered a great service to the welfare of mankind.

So far as the field of Science is concerned, Bacon made no new discovery. Although his occasional investigations into Nature show his insight, yet his general view of Nature was crude and incomplete. Bacon explains his method in the *Novum Organum* what he calls the "first vintage" of his enquiry; it shows his insight as well as his insufficient view of nature. While investigating the cause of heat he arrives at the conclusion that heat is a kind of motion ; it is expansive motion ; its direction is towards the circumference of the body ; this motion is a rapid motion of fine particles of the body. But with all his investigation into heat, Bacon could not arrive at any definite result. Bacon's knowledge, particularly of exact sciences, was deficient. He had no knowledge of Napier's invention of logarithms (one of the series of reckoning numbers tabulated for simplifying computation), or of Galileo's progress in mechanical theory ; his judgment on Copernican theory was wrong. These defects were responsible for the defects of his method. That is why Harvey once ironically remarked that Bacon wrote his philosophy like a Lord Chancellor. For his defective scientific method, the scientists of the succeeding generations have ignored most of his suggestions probably because Bacon's method is not in the true sense scientific.

W. R. Sorley, while giving the estimate of Bacon's philosophical position remarks, "Bacon's contributions to human philosophy do not rank in importance with his reforming work in natural philosophy ; and his influence on the moral sciences was later in making itself felt, though it was similar in character to his influence on natural

science. He often appealed for help in carrying out his new philosophy ; neither in natural science, nor in moral science, nor in philosophy generally did he found a school". As a matter of fact he only helped to free the intellect from preconceived notions and directed the human mind to the unbiassed study of facts, whether of nature or of mind or of society. He vindicated an independent position for the positive sciences and to this, in the main, he owes his position in the history of human thought.

To conclude, the great and wonderful work which the world owes to Bacon was in the idea and not in the execution. The idea was that the facts should be examined systematically and faithfully with all appliances and all safeguards that human experience and wisdom could suggest in order to reach the scientific truth. So his was the faith of a discoverer, the imagination of a poet and the voice of a prophet. But his was not the warrior's arm, the engineer's skill, the architect's creativeness. Cowley compared him with Moses on Pisgah surveying the promised land ; it was but a distant survey and Newton was the Joshua who began to take possession of it". Macaulay was right when he said that it was Bacon's destiny "to give to the human mind a direction which itself retained for ages". Indeed it was a rare prerogative allowed to a very few great men.

Q. 18. *Bacon says that his essays are "certain brief notes written down rather significantly than curiously". Comment.* [*i.e.*, they are meaningful but without literary care.]

Or

Discuss Bacon's "essays" as essays, i.e., how far and to what extent they satisfy the criteria of an ideal essay?

Ans. Ideally, an essay should be (1) a short literary composition easily read in leisure, light in treatment but yet embodying the eternal verities of life so as to have on the mind of a reader permanent impression; (2) it should not be too argumentative, it should contain the essayist's intellectual and emotional reactions to the subject-matter; it should have a picturesque and unified impression on the mind; it should be an artistic and organic whole; (3) it must not be formal—it should establish, so to say, a sort of intimate personal and even confidential relation as between the essayist and the reader as in Montaigne and Lamb; (4) it must have wit, humour and pathos. Judged by these standards, Bacon's essays are often too argumentative, too formal, too stately; and their thoughts too profound—defects from which his model, the French essayist, Montaigne or the greatest among Romantic essayists, *i.e.*, Charles Lamb is remarkably free. Montaigne's essays are voted for the informal sketching and lighter vein, and their frankness, gusto, acute observation and lively acquaintance with men and manners, which Bacon lacked. Bacon's essays are professedly didactic and didacticism interferes with the unified artistic and picturesque impression of one whole on the mind of the reader. All through his essays there is a persistent air of high seriousness and cold objectivity as contrasted with that delightful airy mould of thought for which Montaigne and Charles Lamb are both famous, while Montaigne is copious, familiar, prodigal of confidences, interested in everything, prone to philosophize on whatever relates to man, Bacon is curt, almost sibylline, entirely impersonal and averse to pure speculation. He deduces general maxims only from the observations he has himself been able to make. He writes only for courtiers and states-

man like himself......He supplies short dissertations wholly sententious in form, supported by quotations from the ancients but founded on direct observation.. The construction is stiff and formal. "Like a good lawyer, Bacon, with an air of complete impartiality, balances opposing arguments before he draws his conclusions. Their essential merit lies in the density of thought and expressions, the frequent brilliancy of the poetic images, inserted never as ornaments but always to emphasise an idea, and the impressive loftiness of the oracular tone" (Legouis). Although Bacon's essays make with personal revelation, they are extraordinarily discursive in their interests ; and they display a capacity to utter pregnant thoughts on almost any subject-matter. They constitute a veritable handbook of practical wisdom, enclosing therein shortest maxims, an astonishing treasure of insight which is an active stimulant and irritant to our wit and understanding. They contain abundant proofs that no nice feature of character, no peculiarity in the ordering of a house, a garden or mosque, could escape the notion of one whose mind was capable of talking in the whole world of knowledge. Besides "he was one of our great masters in the *Art of Life*. He has shown men how full of interest life and the world are to every healthy mind. He has directed them to high aims and worthy interests as the true source of real abiding satisfaction as has encouraged them by the assurance that wisdom is justified of her children." (Selby). Bacon had to be impersonal in his manner of utterance because his words of advice are meant for a select *clientele* viz., princes, kings, men in high places—in the Council-chambers, for instance ; unlike Montaigne and Charles Lamb, Bacon was often not talking to anybody who cared to listen, but to the chosen great ones of the world, whose ears might be inclined or might not, but who would attend, if at all, only to words of a becoming weight and dignity. In rhetorical power, musical cadence, quaint turns of speech, he may be equalled by several of his contemporaries, excelled by a few, but for a clear, terse, pithy essay writing, loaded with wisdom, Bacon has no peer and even today his 'Essays' are models of succinct lucid prose. He was certainly one of the greatest rhetoricians and his range of

knowledge was very wide, almost encylopaedic, ever ready at his hand for purposes more often perhaps of divagation than of sheer penetration. His command of phrase was extraordinary and his essays are full of purple patches. He may be lacking in humour but some compensation and brilliant flashes of wit punctuate his writings here and there. The reason why Bacon could not be *light* in his treatment was that his essays were profussed by didactic in content and objective, being mainly intended for people in high places but there are just a few essays in which the treatment is light-hearted and the style is colloquial and even homely. These essays really "come home to men's business and bosom." Here Bacon comes down to the level of the common man and takes the commonsense point of view, instead of those of the kings or princes for their Machiavellian advantage. When he had to tackle grave subjects, he could not afford to be anything but impersonal, stiff, formal and stately. We should not forget that "wisdom is notoriously impersonal" (Tillotson) and Bacon's wisdom was almost "supernatural" (D'Rowley). "He seems to have compiled many of the essays with his brain centred like that of a Mathematician. He seems often, indeed, to have written with his head, severed and placed keenly before him on the table, an inch or two beyond the farthest edge of the manuscript. It was a 'curious' head, severed bloodlessly,—a microcosm indefatiguably contrived, an enormous packed head. And peering in it, Bacon would find his wisdom cold, firm, convenient—a wisdom which could be pocketed for use like a bunch of keys. Bacon read widely, profoundly and kept a commonplace book at his elbow ready to take in all the notable wisdom of the world, every dust-encumbered coin of truth, the nobles and angels of other times.........Bacon's distinction is in the human worth and encyclopaedic extent of his compilings" (Tillotson). [See also Bacon as an Essayist in the General Introduction.]

Q. 19. ***Commenting upon the scientific achievements of Bacon, Bush writes : "He not only summoned men to research, he brought the Cinderella of science out of her partial obscurity and enthroned her as the queen of world." Discuss.***

Ans. Science had been progressing slowly before the advent of Bacon as a scientific thinker. Gresham College was a centre of practical and threatrical sciences; from the end of 16th century the two universities were also producing scientists and mathematicians, although they had not been trained exactly on scientific lines. In fact the 17th century scientists had the distinguished works of Recorde, Dee, Thomas Digges and William Gilbert (1540—1603) behind them. Gilbert had established his reputation in the fields of magnetism and electricity. Harriot and Galileo worked out their telescopic observations unanimously. William Harvey described his greatest scientific discovery in the year of Shakespeare's death, and evoked reaction from the contemporary physicians. These are only few out of the scores of the scientists among whom each was busy in his respective field. But, unfortunately, the results of their experiments and observations were mocked at and even sometimes they themselves were made to undergo termendous troubles and tribulations for their new findings. On the whole, perhaps, they were never encouraged. That is why Bacon, Milton and Hobbes protested that the universities were not removing the obnoxious influence of the preceding centuries.

In the Middle Ages it was thought that learning man had finished his task. Nothing was left for further progress and advance. And if some one introduced any new concept about anything it was thought as an heresy against the religion. The situation had deteriorated to such an extent that further progress seemed to be impossible. With the given material all had been done that could be done. The thoroughness of the accomplishments had arrived at. Unproductiveness had become cogenital. The past was under the constraint of authority: the antique culture was acquired with deference for antiquity; Christianity was accepted with belief that it was necessary for salvation. The conservative theologians had brought the human mind to a standstill. Dr. Sir Iqbal referring to similar situational implications in which Sir Syed was involved in the last

quarter of the 19th century in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent says :

آئین نو سے ڈرنا طرز کہن پہ اڑنا
منزل یہی کٹھن ہے قوموں کی زندگی میں

The scientific thinking was contaminated with superstitious theology and astronomy. Deference of the younger race for the traditions of the older race was inevitable. It was the controlling factor in setting the intellectual task. "Man's task was not to create, nor to alter, enough for him that he should understand and admire."

Both Nature and Knowledge were perfidious objects. Nature was consigned to the Satanic order and "knowledge puffeth up". It (knowledge) "hath somewhat of the serpent". St. Paul had identified the cosmological forces with the fallen angels which had taken different evil forms in terms of Nature. In a similar fantastic manner they had framed the philosophy about women. She was thought as a "desirable calamity". Earth, heaven, water, air and fire were conveyed several hierarchies of evil spirits. "Divine Grace" was quite different from Nature. So the study of Nature was to repeat the original Sin of Adam. In short, the mixture of the fabulous with the scientific was a legacy from the medieval science.

As Bacon had a full intellectual grasp of his time he did not condemn the past. His attitude was not of fault-finding. His philosophy was not renovation but an innovation. The method Bacon used to reach the preconceived goal was based upon the study and interpretation of Nature without being prejudiced. Its aim was to replace the method of quoting the views of the older authorities. It was essentially an empirical method consisting of three main steps: first comes the description of the steps; next comes a tabulation or classification of them into three classes showing (*a*) instances of the presence of the characteristic or quality, etc. under investigation ; (*b*) instances of its absence ; (*c*) instances of its presence in varying degrees. Next comes the rejection or elimination of whatever appears not to be connected with the phenomena under investigation and the

determination of what is connected with it. Broadly speaking, Bacon can be said to have recognized the methods of agreement, the joint method, and the method of concomitant variations. His real need was to widen the man's intellectual outlook, to extend, knowledge beyond its too narrow limits. Advance meant a new point of departure, a new interest, a new subject matter, and a new method which he provided. It is important that one should believe in the possibility of progress, since the absence of such belief commits one either to an arrogant dogmatism, a complacent satisfaction with things as they are, or to a hopeless skepticism, the dangerous doubts that things can be improved. About this subject Bacon writes: " But by far the greatest obstacle to the progress of science and to the undertaking of new tasks and provinces therein, is found in this—that men despair and think things impossible ". It is this firm faith in the possibility of progress that forms the basis of Bacon's scientific optimism. Closely connected with the idea of progress are the cognate ideas of control, utility and responsibility. It is for emphasis on these ideas that Bacon is held up as the exponent of the modern spirit.

To achieve his end he criticized pseudo-science, magic, alchemy and astrology. In doing so he was separating truth from error, fact from fable and reality from fiction. Bacon said the truth of science and truth of religion were two different facets of one and the same truth. However, they were interrelated yet they were different from each other and one had to do nothing in the sphere of other.

For this and many other similar reasons Bacon was charged and asked not to plead for science because it accentuated men to second-hand causes and ultimately to atheism. Bacon, on the other hand, replied that God worked in Nature only through second-hand causes and although they (causes) did not directly lead to God yet inevitably they reached Him in the end. Further he asserted that God only revealed Himself by two means—one by words and other by Universe (Nature). Therefore to study Nature was to study God. Again contrary to the belief of the time that " knowledge puffeth up " and it

"hath somewhat of the serpent," Bacon said that true humility was created by knowledge and study of Nature as the world of Nature resembled the world of God.

Thus in his reaction to the situation, Bacon was very careful. When advance was no longer possible to a given direction, he changed the direction. He did not refute the old ideology lest the feeling of the people should be injured. "He outshines the normal scientific recluse by virtue of his literary, legal, and political eminence, the dramatic quality of his career.......... Then when we look at the philosopher and his monumental collected works, Bacon seems to bestride his age like a colossus. Standing between the medieval and modern world, he pointed along the road civilization was to take in the following centuries. His scientific ideals had been proclaimed and practised by other Englishmen, of whom Gilbert was the most influential, but they did not stand in the Baconian pulpit under the Baconian sounding-board. If he himself was the father of no important specific contribution to science, he was the godfather of many, and his strictly scientific thought has more significance than the conventional estimate allows".

Among his contemporaries there is none but Descartes (1596—1650) who is his rival. But as a spokesman Bacon has upperhand even upon him. Although, the works of Gilbert and Harvey may make some of Bacon's technical discussions look immature, but the credit of comparable synthesis of the forces and motives, which changed the character of civilization, goes to Bacon. He proved more effective because he was one of the great masters of the language. "His eloquent statement of the claims and methods of experimental science received the praises not merely of his own countrymen but of continental thinkers and scientists from Descartes, Mersenne, and Gassendi to Huygens, Leibniz, and Vico. Bacon did 'ring a bell to call other wits together', and the bell was heard outside the domain of science. The first was the birth of what in 1662 became the Royal Society. Co-operative research, one of Bacon's feasible dreams, had its most sumptuously imaginative and staggering presentation in *The New Atlantis* (1627). Apart from general tributes to Bacon, before and

after the formal inception of the Society, we have a familiar testimony of such men as Cowley, Sprat, Glanvill, Wallis, and Oldenburg to the potent inspiration of the Baconian ideal . . .

"The society was a concrete symptom not only of the rising spirit of scientific inquiry but of the practical ideals of an especially Puritan middle class conscious of the new need of the new world, ideals which were finding simultaneous expression in pamphlets on educational reform". And through gradual developments, experiments and observations science has triumphed over all other objects, pertaining to the human progress, in the present world. It is science which is ruling the whole universe. The credit of scientific development goes to Bacon because he cultivated the favourable intellectual climate for the growth of science. Before him the traditional view of human history was static or deteriorationist. "Bacon made it dynamic and optimistic. He transferred the Golden Age from the mythical infancy of man to an attainable future. He was the chorus of the scientific drama, the Moses, in Cowley's great image, who led his people to the edge of the promised land. If we say that such changes would have occurred without Bacon, we must say also that the discoveries of Galileo and Newton would have been made if those men had never lived."

A SELECTION OF
THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING

(THE TWO BOOKS)

of

FRANCIS BACON

THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING

INTRODUCTION

"The Advancement of Learning" is a treatise on the intellectual life of the early seventeenth-century England. It consists of two books. Book One contains a penetrating analysis of the intellectual temper of the age and an eloquent eulogy of the dignity of learning. Book Two incorporates a comprehensive analysis of the knowledge of the day including deficiencies of learning and outlining a future programme for its propogation on the right lines. Critical survey is undertaken in order to pave the way for a complete reorganization of all branches of knowledge.

Bacon thinks it necessary at the outset to free learning from the disgraces which were attributed to it due to the zeal of the theologians, the arrogance of the politicians and the shortcomings of the learned themselves. Theologians discouraged learning because it weakened the faith. Bacon replies to this charge "that a little or superficial knowledge of philosophy may incline the mind to atheism, but a further proceeding therein brings the mind back again to religion." According to the politicians learning renders a man unfit for practical affairs and brings about a separation between the contemplative and the active life. This charge has been refuted by the verdict of history. "The evidence of time doth clear this assertion, considering that the most barbarous, rude, and unlearned times have been the most subject to tumults, seditions, and charges." The greatest discredit has been brought upon learning by the learned themselves, partly from their poverty, their obscurity, and their pedantry, partly from the "queerness" of their manners, but mostly from the nature of their studies. Touching the last point, Bacon condemns the learning of his time as too fantastic, as seen in the visions of astrology and magic, as too contentious as seen in the idle disputations of the

scholastics, and as too delicate, as seen in the literary effects of humanism.

The foregoing statement constitutes the major criticism, or as Bacon terms them the "distempers" of learning. There is also a series of minor criticism termed by him the "preccant humours." The humours are eleven in all and they vividly present the intellectual habits and disposition of the age. The first and last of the criticisms are of special interest: "We are the ancients" is Bacon's reply to those who were surcharged with reverential deference for antiquity. "These times are the ancient times, when the world is ancient and not those which we account ancient "by a computation backward from ourselves." The last criticism deals with what Bacon conceives the true end of knowledge: "But the greatest error of all the rest is the mistaking or misplacing of the last or furtherest end of knowledge. For men have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, sometimes upon a natural curiosity and inquisitive appetite; sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight, sometimes for ornament and reputation; and sometimes to enable them to victory of wit and contradiction; and most times for lucre and profession; and seldom sincerely to give a true account of their reason, to the benefit and use of men;......"

So we see that the central pivot of the Baconian philosophy is in fixing the true end of knowledge *i.e.* knowledge should be acquired and used for no purpose other than the welfare of mankind. Here are some other quotations which bear on the subject: "Lastly, I would address one general admonition to all: that they consider what are the true ends of knowledge, and that they seek it either for pleasure of the mind, or for contention, or for superiority to others, or for profit, or fame, or power, or any of these inferior things; but not for the benefit and use of life; nor they perfect and govern it in charity." "Now the true and lawful goal of the sciences is none other than this: that human life be endowed with new discoveries and powers." "The end of our foundation is the knowledge of causes and the secret motions of things: and the enlarging of the

bounds of Human Empire to the effecting of all things possible." It should not be thought that Bacon had purely a utilitarian view-point. In the above-quoted extract it is stated that knowledge should be perfected and governed in the spirit of charity. Bacon also believed that ultimate truth and utility were the same. "Now these two directions, the one active, the other contemplative, are one and the same thing; and in operation is most useful, that in knowledge is most true."

On the basis of divine testimonies and human proofs Bacon praises learning in the second part of Book One. He says that power and wisdom are attributes of God as exemplified in the history of Creation. Love, wisdom and power characterize the order of the spirits as set forth in the celestial hierarchy of Pseudo Dionysius. The primacy of light (wisdom) is emphasized in the making of the sensible world. The contemplative function of intelligence is characteristic of man both before and after the fall. The dignity of learning is further proved by quoting examples from the Scriptures, from the Church Fathers, from the Reformation and from the rise of the Jesuit Order, all bearing witness to the value of learning for faith and religion.

From the human proofs the first one is the superiorty of the scientific invention over the practical statemanship among the ancients. For examples, Thales was known as one of the Seven Wise Men for his scientific knowledge rather than for his political competence. Then Bacon takes the account of the influence of learning on politics ond military. The Book One closes with the praises of wisdom in relation to private virtue.

Book Two contains the famous classification of the sciences. The classification is according to the faculties of the human mind. "The parts of human learning have reference to the three parts of Man's Understanding, which is the seat of learning: (1) History to his Memory: (2) Poesy to his Imagination; and (3) Philosophy to his Reason." The subdivisions of these major headings are as under :—

Natural History is the first subdivision of the general history. This is most important according to Bacon's

scheme. It should be noted that the intellectual survey is not undertaken as an end in itself, but as an elementary exploration with a view to the ultimate regeneration of the sciences. Further the goal of natural science is the discovery of 'form,' or as we should probably say of 'causes.' Now the scientific knowledge should rest upon an inductive inquiry into natural phenomena, and not on an *a priori* analysis. "For I am building in the human understanding a true model of the world, such as it is in fact, not such as a man's own reason would have it to be; a thing which cannot be done without a very diligent direction and anatomy of the world. But I say that those foolish and apish images of worlds which the fancies of men have created in philosophical systems, must be utterly scattered to the winds." Therefore, all scientific knowledge should rest upon true observations of facts. It is the function of Natural History to collect these facts in order to provide a more advanced scientific knowledge. "But if my judgment be of any weight, the use of History Mechanical (a branch of natural history) is of all others the most radical and fundamental towards natural philosophy; such natural philosophy as shall not vanish in the fume of subtile, sublime, or delectable speculation, but such as shall be operative to the endowment and benefit of man's life."

Next comes the treatment of Civil History. Bacon divides the time factor into ancient, middle and modern. This is a three-fold division of history. But this division does not correspond to our ancient, medieval and modern, but to pre-classical, classical and post-classical. Bacon's view that it is the function of poetry to recreate in the imagination a world more in accordance with the desires and pleasures of men than the one discovered and described by science seems an unduly narrow conception of the nature of poetry.

Philosophia Prima is the first subject treated under the general division of philosophy. It is a general or summary inquiry whose function is to treat of the universal axioms and categories common to all special sciences. It is a mistake, according to Bacon, to limit such an enquiry into mere *logic*, because "the truth of being and the truth of

knowing are one". That is to say, the distinctions and forms of thought are as much objects of reality as they are objects of thought. First philosophy, therefore, is "*a receptacle for all such profitable observations and axioms as fall not within the compass of any of the special parts of philosophy or science, but are more common and of a higher stage*". Moreover, First Philosophy is the parent from which other branches of philosophy are derived. These branches are Divine Philosophy, Natural Philosophy comprising Physics and Metaphysics and Human Philosophy.

Bacon was the first who classified the *Philosophia Prima*, Divine Philosophy or Natural Theology (as opposed to Divinity or Revealed Theology), and Metaphysics under three different heads. Bacon writes : "For I find a certain rhapsody of Natural Theology, and of divers parts of Logic ; and of that part of Natural Philosophy which concerneth the Principles, and of that other part of Natural Philosophy which concerneth the soul or spirit ; all these strangely commixed and cofused......."

This confusion goes back to Aristotle. Therefore, to understand Bacon it is necessary to understand Aristotle's treatment of the subject. Aristotle's classification of the sciences is given in the book, Epsilon of the *Metaphysics*. "Types of enquiry are divided into theoretical, practical, and productive, dealing respectively with science (in the sense of disinterested and universal knowledge), conduct (comprising politics and ethics), and art (comprising rhetoric and poetics). The theoretical sciences are physics, mathematics, and metaphysics, or as Aristotle terms it theology, or first philosophy. These three theoretical science, are distinguished as follows : For physics deals with things which are inseparable from matter but not immovable, and some parts of mathematics deal with things which are immovable, but probably not separable, but embodied in matter ; while the first science deals with things which are both separable and immovable".

Aristotle is not consistent in his views about Metaphysics. His views are lying scattered in different places,

"(I) In books Alpha and Gamma of the *Metaphysics*, metaphysics is said to deal with the causes and first principles of existence as a whole. (2) In other places, notably in books Epsilon and Lambda, metaphysics is said to deal with only a part of existence, namely, that part which is highest and which is characterized as "capable of existing apart" and as "immovable". Theology is the name which Aristotle gives to this enquiry. (3) In book Beta, Aristotle says that it belongs to metaphysics tos tudy the axioms and starting points of demonstration which are universal and common to all the sciences. Thus it is seen that metaphysics as conceived by Aristotle comprises three distinct types of inquiry. Considering the influence of Aristotle on the subsequent philosophical thought it was natural that this confusion should have persisted.

"Bacon's separation of *Philosophia Prima*, Natural Theology, and Metaphysics into distinct sciences is an attempt to avoid the confusion. *Philosophia Prima* corresponds more or less roughly to Aristotelian metaphysics in the third sense. Natural theology corresponds to Aristotelian metaphysics in the second sense. Metaphysics corresponds in certain respects to Aristotelian metaphysics in the first sense. Bacon's distinction between physics and metaphysics is in part like that made by Aristotle and in part quite unlike it. Bacon expresses his views: "It is, therefore, now a question, what is left remaining for metaphysics; wherein I may without prejudice preserve thus much of the conceit of antiquity, that Physics should contemplate that which is inherent in matter and, therefore, transitory, and metaphysics that which is abstracted and fixed. And again that physics should handle that which supposeth in nature only a being and moving, and Metaphysics should handle that which supposeth further in nature a reason, understanding, and platform". So far Bacon and Aristotle are in agreement, as will be seen by re-reading the above quotation setting forth the Aristotelian distinction between physics and metaphysics. But Bacon departs widely from Aristotle in assigning to physics the investiga-

tion of material and efficient causes, and to metaphysics the investigation of formal and final causes. In Aristotle all the four causes appear in the treatment both of physics and metaphysics."

Treatment of Natural Science and Object and Character of Scientific Knowledge in the Spheres of Physics and Metaphysics : "Natural knowledge passes through three stages. The first is Natural History, the purpose of which is to collect data. It is purely descriptive. In physics and metaphysics knowledge passes from description to explanation. Explanation is in terms of causes. Physics which treats of material and efficient causes is midway between Natural History and Metaphysics, which treats of formal and final causes. The distinction is relative to degrees of explanation. Formal causes are more general, more constant and higher in the scale of explanatory value than efficient causes which are variable and proximate. To quote Bacon : 'For knowledges are as pyramids, whereof history is the basis : So of Natural Philosophy, the basis is Natural History; the stage next the basis of Physics ; the stage next the vertical point is Metaphysics. As for he vertical point,.........the Summary Law of Nature, we know not whether man's inquiry can attain unto it'."

"Two further points should be noted with respect to Bacon's treatment of metaphysics. In the first place, metaphysics is a branch of natural science. There is no 'transcendental moonshine' about it. Knowledge of forms is the ultimate aim of metaphysical enquiry. This knowledge is not arrived at deductively, it is no construction of rational speculation. It is, on the contrary, the highest achievement of inductive discovery. The great systems of metaphysics which belong to the classical period of modern philosophy have all been logical constructions based on *a priori* deductions. A closer adherence to the Baconian conception would have saved philosophy from transcendentalism. For, after all, it is the business of the scientist to tell us what reality is. In the second place Bacon does not say that metaphysics is a knowledge of ultimate reality. It is a knowledge of 'forms' and forms are many. Whether there is a higher type of synthetic

reality unifying the form is an inquiry at present lying beyond the range of scientific investigation."

In his treatment of mathematics, Bacon makes a radical departure from Aristotle. "For Aristotle methematics was a branch of theoretical knowledge co-ordinate with physics and metaphysics. In the Baconian classification it is treated as a branch of metaphysics. The significance of mathematics in subsequent scientific method has shown Bacon to be a false prophet. His trust in the inductive method and his mistrust of rationalistic deduction led him to this undervaluation." Further he himself did not know much about the advancement of the mathematics in his own time.

"Natural science, dealing with the discovery of causes, is one branch of Natural Philosophy ; natural prudence, dealing with the production of effects is the other. We have here Bacon's most characteristic departure from Greeks. Indeed, it is here, if anywhere, that his claim to scientific eminence rests. His doctrine of Natural Prudence is no less than a scientific revolution. For Aristotle prudence was an affair of Art, never of Nature. 'Art deals with that which is modifiable,' Nature with that which 'cannot be otherwise''. Nature can only be contemplated, her forms classified, and her divisions reported. No knowledge of forms, however perfected, could effect a change in a natural body. Contemplative knowledge was always qualitatively superior to practical knowledge. Contemplation, therefore, was the end or final goal of all sciences. There scientific knowledge came to an end. The idea of using this knowledge with a view to changing nature was entirely foreign. Bacon's scientific revolution is summarized in the statement that 'knowledge is power'. Man's highest intellectual endeavour consists in the application of theoretical knowledge to the control and guidance of Nature. It was the aim of the Greeks to adjust man to nature ; it is the aim of Bacon to adjust Nature to man. For the Greeks the nature was unalterable, her form was solid and unyielding, her forms were fixed and unchanging. On the other hand for Bacon nature is plastic and modifiable. The introduction of the idea of change, and with it the

creation of the conditional progress, is the thing that is new in the Baconian philosophy of science. 'For whosoever knoweth any form, knoweth the utmost possibility of *Superinducing that nature upon any variety of matter*, and so is less restrained in operation.' Natural prudence, therefore, is the art of controlling nature and has as its aim the restoration of man to a position of command and sovereignty.

"Human philosophy has two main subdivisions: psychology, dealing with the man as individual, and civil knowledge dealing with man in Society. The treatment of this subject is thoroughly naturalistic. Man is not separated from nature, and the body is not separated from mind. The close union of body and mind is one of the most interesting features of Bacon's psychology."

Psychology deals with the substance of the mind and the faculties of the mind. Questions pertaining to the origin of soul, its exemption from matter, and its immortality are relegated to the sphere of religion. Bacon's interest is only with the faculties of the mind. The distinction is made between the understanding and the reason, on the one hand, and the will, appetites, and affections, on the other. The imagination is an intermediate faculty being the agent for both reason and will.

"Invention and judgment are two most important faculties of the reason. Under these headings is to be found Bacon's criticism of the traditional logic with special reference to its total inadequacy to provide a method of rational discovery such as is needed in the regeneration of the sciences.

In his treatment of the Will, Bacon proves himself to be a psychologist of the first order. His psychological and ethical views deserve a great deal of more attention than has usually been given to them. The element of control which dominated his treatment of his natural prudence is carried over and applied to the philosophy of human nature. 'In the handling of this science those who have written seem to me to have done as if a man that professeth to teach to write did only exhibit fair copies of alphabet and letters joined, without giving any precepts or directions

for the carriage of the hand and framing of the letters. So they have made good and fair exempls and copies, carrying the draughts and portraitures of Good, Virtue, Duty, Felicity;......but how to attain these excellent marks, and how to frame and subdue the will of man to become true, and conformable to these pursuits, they pass it over altogether or slightly and unprofitably". Similarly the passages relating to the "Culture of the Mind" are among the most instructive to be found in the entire realm of ethical literature. The development of character must rest on the descriptive science of human nature. 'The first article of this knowledge is to set down sound and true distributions of the several characters and tempers of men's nature and disposition......' Here as elsewhere theoretical knowledge is not an end in itself but is a point of departure for the control and guidance of conduct. Moral progress is the end, moral knowledge is the means. The regeneration of the social and moral sciences is as much a part of the Baconian scheme of reform as the regeneration of the physical sciences. The conception of the modifiability of human nature and of its development under scientific control is as revolutionary for the social sciences as the conception of natural prudence is for the physical sciences.

"The practical aims of progress, control, and utility are further seen in Bacon's treatment of civil knowledge. In public affairs there is lamentable divorcement between wisdom and learning. As we say, 'knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers', has no place in Bacon's characterization of the science of rising in life."

OUTLINE OF THE "ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING":

Book One : The demerits and merits of learning.

A. The discredits and disgraces of learning.

I. The major criticism : The distempers—

1. From the zeal and jealousy of divines.
2. From the severity and arrogancy of politicians.

3. From the learned themselves—
    (*a*) From their fortunes—
        (1) Scarcity of means (poverty).
        (2) Privateness of life (obscurity).
        (3) Meanness of employment (pedantry).
    (*b*) From their manners.
    (*c*) From the nature of their studies—
        (1) Fantastical.
        (2) Contentious.
        (3) Delicate.

II. The minor criticisms : The peccant humours—
1. Reverence for antiquity and enthusiasm for novelty.
2. Distrust of present possibilities.
3. Conceit.
4. Premature finality to science.
5. Abandonment of universality.
6. Excessive rationalism.
7. Prejudice.
8. Bias of impatience.
9. Dogmatism.
10. Personal vs. scientific detachment.
11. Misconception of the true ends of knowledge.

B. The dignity and value of learning.

I. Testimonies from the divine.
1. History of creation—
    (*a*) Attributes of God : power and wisdom.
    (*b*) Order of the spirit : love, wisdom, power.
    (*c*) The sensible world : primacy of light (wisdom).

2. Contemplative function of intelligence—
   (*a*) Before the fall (Adam).
   (*b*) After the fall.
3. Examples from the scriptures: Moses, Job, Solomon, Christ, The holy spirit, St. Paul.
4. The Church Fathers.
5. The reformation and the Jesuit Order.
6. Value of learning for faith and religion.

II. Testimonies from the human.

1. Superiority of scientific invention over practical statesmanship.
2. Influence of learning on political virtue.
3. Influence of learning on military virtue.
4. Influence of learning on moral and private virtue.

Book Two: Survey of intellectual globe, Introduction.

A. History.

I. Natural history—
1. History of creatures.
2. History of marvels.
3. History of ar.s.

II. Civil history—
1. Memorials—
   (*a*) Commentaries.
   (*b*) Registers.
2. Perfect histories—
   (*a*) Times (chronicles).
   (*b*) Persons (lives).
   (*c*) Actions (narratives).
3. Antiquities.

III. Ecclesiastical history—

1. History of the Church.
2. History of Prophecy.
3. History of Providence.

B. Poetry :

I. Narrative.

II. Representative.

III. Allusive.

C. Philosophy :

Part One : Philosophy.

Division One : *Prima Philosophia*. Summary Philosophy.

Division Two : Divine Philosophy, or natural theology.

Division Three : Natural Philosophy.

I. As to subject matter.

1. Natural science : Discovery of causes—
   (*a*) Physics : material and efficient causes.
   (*b*) Metaphysics : formal and final causes.
   (*c*) Mathematics : a branch of metaphysics.
2. Natural prudence : Production of effects—
   (*a*) Experimental.
   (*b*) Philosophical.
   (*c*) Magical.

II. As to method of inquiry—

1. Calendar of doubts : aphorematic method.
2. Calendar of errors.

Division Four : Human Philosophy.

I. Man as individual—

1. Close relation of body and mind.

2. Body—
   (*a*) Medicine.
   (*b*) Cosmetic.
   (*c*) Athletic.
   (*d*) Arts of pleasure sensual.
3. Mind—
   (*a*) Substance of the mind—
      (1) Divination.
      (2) Fascination.
   (*b*) Faculties of the mind—
      (1) Understanding and reason : Judicial Imagination and agent for both reason and will—
         (*a*) Invention—
            (*a′*) Of art and science.
            (*b′*) Of speech and arguments.
         (*b*) Judgment—
            (*a′*) Judgment as invention.
            (*b′*) Judgment as syllogism.
               (*a″*) Analytics.
               (*b″*) Elenches : the idols.
         (*c*) Memory.
         (*d*) Tradition.
      (2) Will, appetite, and affection : ministerial—
         (*a*) Nature of the good—
            (*a′*) Kinds of good.
            (*b′*) Degrees of good.

(*a''*) Private good.

(*b''*) Social good.

(*b*) Statement of the problem.

(*c*) The method of application.

(*d*) The method of alteration.

II. Man in society : Civil knowledge—

1. Conversation : Behavior.
2. Negotiation : Business.
3. Government : Statesmanship.

Part Two : Divinity.

[M. T. McCLURE]

The Two Books

OF

FRANCIS BACON

Of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning, Divine and Human.

To the King

ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING

Divine and Human

Objections made to Learning

And for the conceit that learning should dispose men to leisure and privateness, and make men slothful; it were a strange thing if that which accustometh the mind to a perpetual motion and agitation should induce slothfulness: whereas contrariwise it may be truly affirmed, that no kind of men love business for itself but those that are learned; for other persons love it for profit, as an hireling, that loves the work for the wages; or for honour, as because it beareth them up in the eyes of men, and refresheth their reputation, which otherwise would wear; or because it putteth them in mind of their fortune, and giveth them occasion to pleasure and displeasure; or because it exerciseth some faculty wherein they take pride, and so entertaineth them in good humour and pleasing conceits towards themselves; or because it advanceth any other their ends. So that as it is said of untrue valours, that some men's valours are in the eyes of them that look on; so such men's industries are in the eyes of others, or at least in regard of their own designments: only learned men love business as an action according to nature, as agreeable to health of mind as exercise is to health of body, taking pleasure in the action itself, and [1]not in the purchase: so that of all men they are the most indefatigable, if it be towards any business which can hold or detain their mind.

And if any man be laborious in reading and study and yet idle in business and action, it groweth from some weakness of body or softness of spirits; such as [2]Seneca speaketh

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1. *not in the purchase*, not in that which is acquired by it.

2. *Seneca*, Ep. 111. 5 ('Some are so retiring that they think daylight dangerous') from Pomponius.

of: *Quidam tam sunt umbratiles, ut putent in turbido esse quicquid in luce est*; and not of learning: well may it be that such a point of a man's nature may make him give himself to learning, but it is not learning that breedeth any such point in his nature.

And that learning should take up too much time or leisure: I answer the most active or busy man that hath been or can be, hath (no question) many vacant times of leisure, while he expecteth the tides and returns of business (except he be either tedious and of no despatch, or lightly and unworthily ambitious to meddle in things that may be better done by others), and then the question is but how those spaces and times of leisure shall be filled and spent; whether in pleasures or in studies; as was well answered by [1]Demosthenes to his adversary Æschines, that was a man given to pleasure and told him *That his orations did smell of the lamp; indeed* (said Demosthenes) *there is a great difference between the things that you and I do by lamp-light*. So as no man need [2]doubt that learning will expulse business, but rather it will keep and defend the possession of the mind against idleness and pleasure which otherwise at unawares may enter to the prejudice [3]of both.

Again, for that other conceit that learning should undermine the reverence of laws and government, it is assuredly a mere depravation and calumny, without all shadow of truth. For to say that blind custom of obedience should be a surer obligation than duty taught and understood, it is to affirm that a blind man may tread surer by a guide than a seeing man can by a light. And it is without all controversy, that learning doth make the minds of men gentle, generous, [4]maniable, and pliant to government; whereas ignorance makes them churlish, thwart, and mutinous: and the evidence of time both clear

1. *Demosthenes*. See Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, viii. 2, where the story is told of Pytheas, not Aeschines.

2. *doubt*, fear.

3. *of both*, i.e., learning and business.

4. *maniable*, tractable, manageable.

this assertion considering that the most barbarous, rude, and unlearned times have been most subject to tumults, seditions, and changes.

Education

And for meanness of employment, that which is most [1]traduced to contempt is that the government of youth is commonly allotted to them ; [2]which age, because it is the age of least authority, is transferred to the disesteeming of those employments wherein youth is conversant, and which are conversant about youth. But how unjust this traducement is (if you will reduce things from popularity of opinion to measure of reason) may appear in that we see men are more curious what they put into a new vessel than into a vessel seasoned ; and what mould they lay about a young plant than about a plant corroborate : so as the weakest terms and times of all things use to have the best applications and helps. And will you hearken to the Hebrew rabbins ? [3]*Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams* ; say they youth is the worthier age, for that visions are nearer apparitions of God than dreams? And let it be noted that, howsoever the condition of life of [4]*pedantes* hath been scorned upon theatres, as the ape of tyranny ; and that the modern looseness or negligence hath taken no due regard to the choice of schoolmasters and tutors ; yet the ancient wisdom of the best times did always make a just complaint that states were too busy with their laws and too negligent in point of education : which excellent part of ancient discipline hath been in some sort revived

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1. *traduced to contempt*, contemptuously paraded.

2. *which age*, &c. The 'it' is unnecessarily repeated, the words 'which age' being placed foremost in the sentence without any government.

3. *Your young men*, &c. Joel, ii. 28. Cf. Essay Of Youth and Age, p. 254.

4. *pedentes*. Cf. Florio's *Montaigne*, ed. 1603, p. 60 : 'I have in my youth oftentimes been vexed to see a Pedant brought in, in most of Italian comedies, for a vice or sportmaker'. Bacon's form 'pedantes' has three syllables. The Italian *pedante* was not yet fully naturalized as *pedant*.

of late times by the colleges of the Jesuits, of whom, although in regard of their superstition I may say, [1]*Quo meliores, eo deteriores*; yet in regard to this, and some other points concerning human learning and moral matters, I may say, as Agesilaus said to his enemy Pharnabazus, [2]*Talis quum sis, utinam noster esses*. And thus much touching the discredits drawn from the fortunes of learned men.

Self and Country

Another fault likewise much of this kind hath been incident to learned men; which is, that they have esteemed the preservation, good, and honour or their countries or masters before their own fortunes or safeties. For so faith [3]Demosthenes unto the Athenians; *If it please you to note it, my counsels unto you are not such whereby I should grow great amongst you, and you become little amongst the Grecians; but they be of that nature, as they are sometimes not good for me to give, but are always good for you to follow.* And so Seneca, after he had consecrated that [4]*Quinquennium Neronis* to the eternal glory of learned governors, held on his honest and loyal course of good and free counsel, after his master grew extremely corrupt in his government. Neither can this point otherwise be; for learning endueth men's minds with a true sense of the frailty of their persons, the [5]casualty of their fortunes, and the dignity of their soul and vocation: so that it is impossible for them to esteem

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1. *Quo meliores*, &c., 'the better they are, the worse they are', a saying of Diogenes. See Diog. Laert. vi. 46.

2. *Talis quum*, &c., 'Seeing you are such a man I wish you belonged to us'. Plutarch, *Agesilaus*, xii. 5.

3. *Demosthenes. De Chersoneso*, p. 72 (a free version).

4. *Quinquennium Neronis*. The phrase is used by Aurelius Victor (*De Caesaribus*, v. 2), fl. 360 A.D., quoting Trajan's praise of this period. It was formerly understood, as by Bacon here, to refer to the early years, when Nero was under the influence of Seneca. Mr. J. G. C. Anderson (*Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. i) has shown reason for thinking that Trajan referred to Nero's building activities of a later date.

5. *Casualty*, uncertainty.

that any greatness of their own fortune can be a true or worthy end of their being and ordainment; and therefore are desirous to give their account to God, and so likewise to their masters under God (as kings and the states that they serve) in these words: [1]*Ecce tibi lucrifici*, and not *Ecce mihi lucrifici*; whereas the corrupter sort of mere politiques, that have not their thoughts established by learning in the love and apprehension of duty, nor never look abroad into universality, do refer all things to themselves, and thrust themselves into the centre of the world, as if all lines should meet in them and their fortunes; never caring in all tempests what becomes of the ship of [2]estates, so they may save themselves in the cockboat of their own fortune: whereas men that feel the weight of duty and know the limits of self-love, use to make good their places and duties, though with peril; and if they [3]stand firm in seditious and violent alterations, it is rather the reverence which many times both adverse parts do give to honesty, than any versatile advantage of their own carriage. But for this point of tender sense and fast obligation of duty which learning doth endue the mind withal, howsoever fortune may tax it, and many in the depth of their corrupt principles may despise it, yet it will receive an open allowance, and therefore needs the less disproof or excusation.

Wards and Matter

Here therefore is the first distemper of learning, when men study words and not matter; whereof, though I have represented an example of late times, yet it hath been and will be [4]*secundum majus et minus* in all time. And how is it possible but this should have an operation to discredit learning, even with vulgar capacities, when they see learned men's works like the first letter of a patent, or limned book;

1. *Ecce tibi*, &c., 'lo, I have gained for thee (not me)'. Cf. Matthew xxv. 20.

2. *estates*. Dr. Aldis Wright suggests 'es te'; the Latin translation has 'de reipublicae navi'.

3. *stand*, stand firm, keep their position.

4. *secundum majus et minus*, 'to a greater or less degree'.

which though it hath large flourishes, yet it is but a letter? It seems to me that [1]Pygmalion's frenzy is a good emblem or portraiture of this vanity: for words are but the images of matter; and except they have life of reason an invention, to fall in love with them is all one as to fall in love with a picture.

The End of Knowledge

But the greatest error of all the rest is the mistaking or misplacing of the last or furthest end of knowledge. For men have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, sometimes upon a natural curiosity and inquisitive appetite; sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight; sometimes for ornament and reputation; and sometimes to enable them to victory of wit and contradiction; and most times for lucre and profession; and seldom sincerely to give a true account of their gift of reason, to the benefit and use of men: as if there were sought in knowledge a couch whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a terrace for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a fort or commanding ground for strife and contention; or a shop for profit or sale; and not a rich storehouse for the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate. But this is that which will indeed dignify and exalt knowledge, if contemplation and action may be more nearly and straitly conjoined and united together than they have been; a conjunction like unto that of the two highest planets, [2]Saturn, the planet of rest and contemplation, and Jupiter, the planet of civil society and action. Howbeit, I do not mean, when I speak of use and action, that end before-mentioned of the applying of knowledge to lucre and profession; for I am not ignorant how much that diverteth

1. *Pygmalion*, who fell in love with the statue he had made. See Ovid, *Metam*. x. 243.

2. *Saturn . . . Jupiter*. Suggested by Macrobius, fl. A.D. 400, *Somnium Scipionis*, 1. 12 'in Saturni ratiocinationem et intelligentiam, . . . in Iovis vim agendi'.

and interrupteth the prosecution and advancement of knowledge, like unto the golden ball thrown before Atalanta, which while she goeth aside and stoopeth to take up, the race is hindered;

[1]Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile toillit.

Neither is my meaning, as was [2]spoken of Socrates, to call philosophy down from heaven to converse upon the earth; that is, to leave natural philosophy aside, and to apply knowledge only to manners and policy. But as both heaven and earth do conspire and contribute to the use and benefit of man; so the end ought to be, from both philosophies to separate and reject vain speculations, and whatsoever is empty and void, and to preserve and argument whatsoever is empty and void, and to preserve and anyment whatsoever is solid and fruitful: that knowledge may not be as a courtesan, for pleasure and vanity only, or as a bond-woman, to acquire and gain to her master's use; but as a spouse, for generation, fruit, and comfort.

Learning makes for Peace and Order

Neither is certainly that other merit of learning, in repressing the inconveniences which grow from man to man, much inferior to the former, of relieving the necessities which arise from nature; which merit was lively set forth by the ancients in that feigned relation of Orpheus' theatre, where all beasts and birds assembled; and forgetting their several appetites, some of prey, some of game, some of quarrel, stood all sociably together listening unto the airs and accords of the harp: the sound whereof no sooner ceased, or was drowned by some louder noise, but every beast returned to his own nature: wherein is aptly described the nature and condition of men, who are full of savage and unreclaimed desires, of profit, of lust, of revenge; which as long as they give ear to precepts, to laws, to religion, sweetly touched with eloquence and persuasion of books, of sermons of harangues so long is

1. *Declinat cursus*, &c., 'turns aside and picks up the golden ball'. Ovid, *Metam*. x. 667.

2. *spoken of Socrates*. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp*. v. 4. 10.

society and peace maintained; but if these instruments be silent, or that s dition and tumult make them not audible, all things dissolve into anarchy and confusion.

But this appeareth more manifestly, when kings themselves, or persons of authority under them, or other governors in commonwealths and popular estates, are endued with learning. For although he might be thought partial to his own profession, that said [1]*Then should people and estates be happy, when either kings were philosophers, or philosophers kings*; yet so much is verified by experience, that under learned princes and governors there have been ever the best times: for howsoever kings may have their imperfections in their passions and customs; yet if they be illuminate by learning, they have those notions of religion, policy, and morality, which do preserve them and refrain them from all ruinous and [2]peremptory errors and excesses; whispering evermore in their ears, when counsellors and servants stand mute and silent. And senators or counsellors likewise, which be learned, do proceed upon more safe and substantial principles, than counsellors which are only men of experience: the one sort keeping dangers afar off, whereas the other discover them not till they come near hand, and then trust to the agility of their writ toward or avoid them.

Knowledge and Private Virtue

To proceed now from imperial and military virtue to moral and private virtue; first, it is an assured truth, which is contained in the verses,

> [3]Scilicet ingenuas didicisse fidelter arts
> Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.

It taketh away the wildness and barbarism and fierceness of men's minds; but indeed the accent had need be upon

1. *Then should people*, &c. Plato, *Republic*, v, p. 473. A favourite saying of Antoninus Pius.

2. *peremptory*, destructive.

3. *Scilicet ingenuas*, &c., 'faithfully to have learned liberal arts softens manners and makes them gentle'. Ovid, *Ep. Pont.* ii. 9. 47.

fideliter; for a little superficial learning doth rather work a contrary effect. It taketh away all levity, temerity, and insolency, by copious suggestion of all doubts and difficulties, and acquainting the mind to balance reasons on both sides, and to turn back the first offers and conceits of the mind, and to accept of nothing but examined and tried. It taketh away vain admiration of anything, which is the root of all weakness. For all things are admired either because they are new, or because they are great. For novelty, no man that wadeth in learning or contemplation thoroughly, but will find that printed in his heart, [1]*Nil novi super terram*. Neither can any man marvel at the play of puppets, that goeth behind the curtain, and [2]adviseth well of the motion. And for magnitude, as Alexander the Great, after that he was used to great armies, and the great conquests of the spacious provinces in Asia, when he received letters out of Greece, of some fights and services there, which were commonly for a [3]passage, or a fort, or some walled town at the most, he said, *It [4]seemed to him, that he was advertised of the battles of the frogs and the mice, that the old tales went of*. So certainly, if a man meditate much upon the universal frame of nature, the earth with men upon it (the divineness of souls except) will not seem much other than an ant-hill [5]whereas some ants carry corn, and some carry their young, and some go empty, and all to and fro a little heap of dust. It taketh away or mitigateth fear of death or adverse fortune! which is one of the greatest impediments of virtue, and imperfections of manners. For if a man's mind be deeply seasoned with the consideration of the mortality and corruptible nature of things,

1. *Nil novi super terram*, Ecclesiastes i. 10, Vulgate ' nihil sub sole novum ', ' there is no new thing under the sun '.

2. *adviseth well of the motion*, observes carefully the mechanism.

3. *passage*, pass, ford.

4. *It seemed to him*, &c. Plutarch (*Agesilaus*, 15. 6) relates that Alexander called the battle between Antipater and Agis a battle of mice. The news was brought to him soon after, the battle of Arbela. Cf. Seneca, *Nat. Quaest*. 1. prol. § 10 ' formicarum iste discursus est in angusto laborantium '.

5. *whereas*, where.

he will easily concur with [1]Epictetus who went forth one day and saw a woman weeping for her pitcher of earth that was broken, and went forth the next day and saw a woman weeping for her son that was dead, and thereupon said, [2]*Heri vidi fragilem frangi, hodie vidi morialem mori.* And therefore Virgil did excellently and profoundly couple the knowledge of causes and the conquest of all fears together, as *concomitantia.*

> [3]Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.
> Quique metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
> Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.

It were too long to go over the particular remedies which learning doth minister to all the diseases of the mind; sometimes purging the ill-humours, sometimes opening the obstructions, sometimes helping digestion, sometimes increasing appetite, sometimes healing the wounds and exulcerations thereof, and the like; and therefore I will conclude with that which hath [4]*rationem totius*; which is, that it disposeth the constitution of the mind not to be fixed or settled in the defects thereof, but still to be capable and susceptible of growth and reformation. For the unlearned man knows not what it is to descend into himself, or to call himself to account, nor the pleasure of that [5]*suavissimavita, indies sentive se fieri meliorem.* The good parts he hath he will learn to

1. *Epictetus.* The dramatic form of the story is apparently Bacon's own.

2. *Heri vidi,* &c. ' Yesterday I saw a brittle pot broken, to-day I have seen a mortal die.'

3. *Felix, qui,* etc. Virgil, *Georgics*, ii. 490 :

> Happy, who had the skill to understand
> Nature's hid causes, and beneath his feet
> All terrors cast, and death's relentless gloom
> And the loud roar of greedy Acheron. (Rhoades.)

4. *rationem totius,* ' the reason of the whole ', apparently referring to Ecclesiastes xii. 13.

5. *suavissima vita,* &c., ' the sweetest life is to find oneself daily growing better ' ; the sentence appears to be derived from Xenophon *Memorabilia*, I. 6. 9.

show to the full, and use them dexterously, but not much to increase them. The faults he hath he will learn how to hide and colour them, but not much to amend them; like an ill mower, that mows on still, and never whets his scythe. Whereas with the learned man it fares otherwise, that he doth ever intermix the correction and amendment of his mind with the use and employment thereof. Nay, further, in general and in sum, certain it is that *Veritas* and *Bonitas* differ but as the seal and the print: for Truth prints Goodness, and they be the clouds of error which descend in the storms of passions and perturbations.

From moral virtue let us pass on to the matter of power and commandment, and consider whether in right reason there by any comparable with that wherewith knowledge investeth and crowneth man's nature. We see the dignity of the commandment is according to the dignity of the commanded: to have commandment over beasts, as herdsmen have, is a thing contemptible: to have commandment over children, as schoolmasters have, is a matter of small honour: to have commandment over galley-slaves is a disparagement rather than an honour. Neither is the commandment of tyrants much better, over people which have put off the generosity of their minds: and therefore it was ever holden that honours in free monarchies and commonwealths had a sweetness more than in tyrannies, because the commandment extendeth more over the wills of men, and not only over their deeds and services. And therefore, when Virgil putteth himself forth to attribute to Augustus Caesar the best of human honours, he doth it in these words:

[1]Victorque volentes
Per populos dat jura, viamque affectat Olympo.

But the commandment of knowledge is yet higher than the commandment over the will: for it is a commandment over the reason, belief, and understanding of man, which is the

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Victorque, &c. Virgil, Georgics, iv. 561:

bare rule o'er willing folk
Though vanquished, and essayed the heights of heaven.

highest part of the mind, and giveth law to the will itself. For there is no power on earth which setteth up a throne or chair of estate in the spirits and souls of men, and in their cogitations, imaginations, opinions, and beliefs, but knowledge and learning. And therefore we see the detestable and extreme pleasure that arch-heretics, and false prophets, and impostors are transported with, when they once find in themselves that they have a superiority in the faith and conscience of men; so great as if they have once tasted of it, it is seldom seen that any torture or persecution can make them relinquish or abandon it. But as this is that which the author of the [1]Revelation calleth the depth or profoundness of Satan, so by argument of contraries, the just and lawful sovereignty over men's understanding, by force of truth rightly interpreted, is that which approacheth nearest to the similitude of the divine rule

The Pleasure of Learning

Again, for the pleasure and delight of knowledge and learning, it far surpasseth all other in nature. For, shall the pleasure of the affections so exceed the pleasure of the sense, as much as the obtaining of desire or victory exceedeth a song or a dinner? and must not of consequence the pleasures of the intellect or understanding [2]exceed the pleasures of the affections? We see in all other pleasures there is satiety, and after they be used, their [3]verdure departeth; which showeth well they be but [4]deceits of pleasure, and not pleasures: and that it was the novelty which pleased, and not the quality. And therefore we see that voluptuous men turn friars, and [5]ambitious princes turn

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1. *Revelation*, ii. 24.

2. *exceed the pleasure of the sense.* So in the Errata to ed. 1605. The original editions have 'exceed the senses' The Lat. is *oblectamenta sensuum excedent*. The true reading is probably 'exceed the pleasures of the senses'.

3. *verdure*, freshness.

4. *deceits of pleasure*, deceptive, unreal pleasures.

5. *ambitious princes*. Bacon was perhaps thinking of the Emperor Charles V, who resigned the crown of Spain in favour of his son in 1556, and retired to the monastery of San Yuste.

melancholy. But of knowledge there is no satiety, but satisfaction and appetite are perpetually interchangeable; and therefore [1]appeareth to be good in itself simply, without fallacy or accident. Neither is that pleasure of small efficacy and contentment to the mind of man, which the poet Lucretius describeth elegantly.

[2]Suave mari magno, turbantibus aequora ventis, &c.

It is a view of delight (saith he) *to stand or walk upon the shore side, and to see a ship tossed with tempest upon the sea; or to be in a fortified tower, and to see two battles join upon a plain. But it is pleasure incomparable, for the mind of man to be settled, landed, and fortified in the certainty of truth and from thence to descry and behold the errors, perturbations, labours, and wanderings up and down of other men.*

Acts of Merit towards Learning

The works or acts of merit towards learning are conversant about three objects; the places of learning, the books of learning, and the persons of the learned. For as water, whether it be the dew of heaven, or the springs of the earth, doth scatter and leese itself in the ground, except it be collected into some receptacle, where it may by union comfort and sustain itself: and for that cause the industry of man hath made and framed spring-heads, conduits, cisterns, and pools, which men have accustomed likewise to beautify and adorn with [3]accomplishments of magnificence and state, as well as of use and necessity: so this excellent liqour of knowledge, whether it descend from divine inspiration, or spring from human sense, would soon perish and vanish to oblivision, if it were not preserved in books, traditions, conferences, and places appointed, as universities, colleges, and schools, for the receipt and comforting of the same.

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1. *appeareth*, i.e. ' knowledge appeareth '.

2. *Suave mari magno*, &c. Lucretius, ii. 1—10. Cf. the translation of the passage in Essay Of Truth, p. 118

3. *accomplishments*, ornaments.

Limitations of Colleges

First, therefore, amongst so many great foundations of colleges in Europe, I find strange that they are all dedicated to professions, and none left free to arts and sciences at large. For if man judge that learning should be referred to action, they judge well; but in this they fall into the error described in [1]the ancient fable, in which the other parts of the body did suppose the stomach had been idle, because it neither performed the office of motion, as the limbs do, nor of sense, as the head doth: but yet notwithstanding it is the stomach that digesteth and distributeth to all the rest. So if any man think philosophy and [2]universality to be idle studies, he doth not consider that all professions are from thence served and supplied. And this I take to be a great cause that hath hindered the progression of learning, because these fundamental knowledges have been studied but in passage. For if you will have a tree bear more fruit than it hath used to do, it is not anything you can do to the boughs, but it is the stirring of the earth and putting new mould about the roots that must work it. Neither is it to be forgotten that this dedicating of foundations and dotations to [3]professory learning hath not only had a malign aspect and influence upon the growth of sciences, but hath also been prejudicial to states and governments. For hence it proceedeth that princes find a solitude in regard of able men to serve them in causes of estate, because there is no education collegiate which is free; where such as were so disposed mought give themselves to histories, modern languages, books of policy and civil discourse, and other the like enablements unto service of estate.

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1. *the ancient fable*, the fable of the belly and the members told by Menenius Agrippa, Livy, ii. 32. See Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, i. 1. 99, &c.

2. *universality*, the study of general principles.

3. *professory learning*, the teaching which has for its object one special branch of study.

malign aspect and influence. This metaphor is derived from the old astrology, in which the planets were supposed to exercise control over human destinies.

Intercourse of Universities

Another defect which I note, ascendeth a little higher than the precedent. For as the proficience of learning consisteth much in the orders and institutions of universities in the same states and kingdoms, so it would be yet more advanced, if there were more intelligence mutual between the universities of Europe than now there is. We see there be many orders and foundations, which though they be divided under several sovereignties and territories, yet they take themselves to have a kind of contract, fraternity, and correspondence one with the other, insomuch as they have [1]provincials and generals. And surely as nature createth brotherhood in families and arts mechanical contract brotherhoods in communalties, and the anointment of God superinduceth a brotherhood in kings and bishops, so in like manner there cannot but be a fraternity in learning and [2]illumination, relating to that paternity which is attributed to God, who is called the Father of illuminations or lights.

Reason, Will, and Imagination

The knowledge which respecteth the faculties of the mind of man is of two kinds; the one respecting his understanding and reason, and the other his will, appetite, and affection; whereof the former produceth position or decree, the later action or execution. It is true that the imagination is an agent or *nuncius*, in both provinces, both the judicial and the ministerial. For sense sendeth over to imagination before reason have judged: and reason sendeth over to imagination before the decree can be acted. For imagination ever precedeth voluntary motion. Saving that this [3]Janus of imagination hath differing faces: for the face

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1. *Provincial*, the head of an order in a province or district; cf. Sandys, *Europae Spec.* (1632), p. 69: 'These generals have under them their provincials or lieutenants in every province or state of Christendom.'

2. *illuminations or lights*. James i. 17.

3. *Janus*, one of the earliest Roman deities, connected with the door of the house, and always represented with two heads. See Dr. Warde Fowler's *Roman Festivals*, p. 282.

towards reason hath the print of truth, but the face towards action hath the print of good; which nevertheless are faces,

[1]Quales decet esse sororum.

Neither is the imagination simply and only a messenger; but is invested with; or at least wise usurpeth no small authority in itself, besides the duty of the message. For it was well said by [2]Aristotle, *That the mind hath over the body that commandment, which the lord hath over a bondman; but that reason hath over the imagination that commandment which a magistrate hath over a free citizen*; who may come also to rule in his turn. For we see that, in matters of faith and religion, we raise our imagination above our reason; which is the cause why religion sought ever access to the mind by similitudes, types, parables, visions, dreams. And again, in all persuasions that are wrought by [3]eloquence, and other impressions of like nature, which do paint and disguise the true appearance of things, the chief recommendation unto reason is from the imagination. Nevertheless, because I find not any science that doth properly or fitly pertain to the imagination, I see no cause to alter [4]the former division. For as for poesy, it is rather a pleasure or play of imagination, than a work of duty thereof. And if it be a work, we speak not now of such parts of learning as the imagination produceth, but of such sciences as handle and consider of the imagination. No more than we shall speak now of such knowledges as reason produceth (for that extendeth to all philosophy), but

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1. *Quales decet*, &c., 'such as are meet for sisters'. Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 14.

2. *Aristotle. Politics*, i. 3.

3. *eloquence.* In the Latin this is expressed more clearly; where the minds of men are in any way wrought upon by rhetorical artifices, the imagination is roused till it triumphs over the reason, and as it were does it violence, partly by blinding and partly by exciting it.

4. *the former division.* 'The parts of human learning have reference to the three parts of man's understanding: history to his memory, poesy to his imagination, and philosophy to his reason' (ed. Aldis Wright, p. 85).

of such knowledges as do handle and inquire of the faculty of reason: so as poesy had his true place. As for the power of imagination in nature, and the manner of fortifying the same, we have mentioned it [1]in the doctrine *De Anima* whereunto most fitly it belongeth. And lastly, for imaginative or insinuative reason, which is the subject of rhetoric, we think it best to refer it to the arts of reason. So therefore we content ourselves with the former division, that human philosophy which respecteth the faculties of the mind of man, hath two parts, rational and moral.

For the other principal part of the custody of knowledge, which is memory, I find that faculty in my judgement weakly inquired of. [2]An art there is extant of it; but it seemeth to me that there are better precepts than that art, and better practices of that art than those received. It is certain the art (as it is) may be raised to points of ostentation prodigious: but in use (as it is now managed) it is barren, not burdensome, nor dangerous to natural memory, as is imagined, but barren, that is, not dexterous to be applied to the serious use of business and occasions. And therefore I make no more estimation of repeating a great number of names or words upon once hearing, or the pouring forth of a number of verses or rhymes *ex tempore*, or the making of a satirical simile of everything, or the turning of everything to a jest, or the falsifying or contradicting of everything by cavil, or the like (whereof in the faculties of the mind there is great copie, and such as by device and practice may be exalted to an extreme degree of wonder), than I do of the tricks of tumblers, [3]funambuloes, baladines; the one being the same in the mind that the other is in the body, matters of strangeness without worthiness.

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1. *in the doctrine De Anima.* See II., 11. 3, where the use of ceremonial magic is deprecated.

2. *An art there is extant of it.* Cornelius Agrippa, in his *Vanitie of the Sciences*, has a chapter 'Of the Arte of Memorie.' Giordano Bruno also wrote an *Ars Memoriae*.

3. *funambuloes, baladines,* tight-rope walkers and dancers.

Knowledges as delivered

For as knowledges are now delivered, there is a kind of [1]contract of error between the deliverer and the receiver. For he that delivereth knowledge, desireth to deliver it in such form as may be best believed, and not as may be best examined ; and he that receiveth knowledge, desireth rather present satisfaction, than expectant inquiry ; and so rather not to lay doubt, than not err : glory making the author not lay open his weakness, and sloth making the discipline not to know his strength.

But knowledge that is delivered as a thread [2]to be spun on, ought to be delivered and intimated, if it were possible, in the same method wherein it was invented : and so is it possible of [3]knowledge induced. But in this same anticipated and prevented knowledge, no man knoweth how he came to the knowledge which he hath obtained. But yet nevertheless, [4]*secundum majus et minus*, a man may revisit and descend unto the foundations of his knowledge and consent ; and so transplant it into another, as it grew in his own mind. For it is in knowledges as it is in plants : if you mean to use the plant, it is no matter for the roots ; but if you mean to remove it to grow, then it is more assured to rest upon roots than slips : so the delivery of knowledges (as it is now used) is as of fair bodies of trees without the roots ; good for the carpenter, but not for the planter. But if you will have sciences grow, it is less matter for the shaft or body of the tree, so you look well to the taking up of the roots. Of which kind of delivery the method of the mathematics, in that subject, hath some shadow : but generally I see it neither put in [5]ure nor put in inquisition, and therefore note it for deficient.

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1. *contract of error*. Where the two parties to the contract have different objects, the contract fails.

2. *to be spun on*, to be spun continuously, without break.

3. *knowledge induced*, derived by induction.

4. *secundum majus et minus*. See p. 427

5. *ure*, use.

Double Nature of Good

There is formed in everything a double nature of good : the one, as everything is a total or substantive in itself ; the other, as it is a part or member of a greater body : whereof the latter is in degree the greater and the worthier, because it tendeth to the conservation of a more general form. Therefore we see the iron in particular sympathy moveth to the loadstone ; but yet if it exceed a certain quantity, it forsaketh the affection to the loadstone, and like a good patriot moveth to the earth, which is the region and country of massy bodies : so may we go forward, and see that water and massy bodies move to the centre of the earth ; but rather than to suffer a divulsion in the continuance of nature, they will move upwards from the centre of the earth, forsaking their duty to the earth in regard of their duty to the world. This double nature of good, and the comparative thereof, is much more engraven upon man, if he degenerate not : unto whom the conservation of duty to the public ought to be much more precious than the conservation of life and being : according to that memorable speech of Pompeius Magnus, when being [1]in commission of purveyance for a famine at Rome, and being dissuaded with great vehemency and instance by his friends about him, that he should not hazard himself to sea in an extremity of weather, he said only to them, [2]*Necesse est ut eam, non ut vivam.* But it may be truly affirmed that there was never any philosophy, religion, or other discipline, which did so plainly and highly exalt the good which is communicative, and depress the good which is private and particular, as the Holy Faith ; well declaring that it was the same God that gave the Christian law to men, who gave those laws of nature to inanimate creatures that we spake of before ; for we read that the elected saints of God have wished themselves anathematized and razed out of the book of life, in an ecstasy of charity and infinite feeling of communion.

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1. *in commission of purveyance*, commissioned to make provision.

2. *Necesse est*, &c. Plutarch, *Pomp.* c. 50, 'I am bound to go but I am not bound to live'.

This being set down and strongly planted, doth judge and determine most of the controversies wherein moral philosophy is conversant. For first, it decideth the question touching the preferment of the contemplative or active life, and decideth it against Aristotle. For all the reasons which he bringeth for the contemplative are private, and respecting the pleasure and dignity of a man's self (in which respects no question the contemplative life hath the pre-eminence), not much unlike to that comparison, which [1]Pythagoras made for the gracing and magnifying of philosophy and contemplation: who being asked what he was, answered, *That if Hiero were ever at the Olympian games, he knew the manner, that some came to try their fortune for the prizes, and some came as merchants to utter their commodities, and some came to make good cheer and meet their friends, and some came to look on; and that he was one of them that came to look on.* But men must know, that in [2]this theatre of man's life it is reserved only for God and angels to be lookers on. Neither could the like question ever have been received in the church, notwithstanding their [3]*Pretiosa in oculis Domini mors sanctorum ejus*, by which place they would exalt their [4]civil death and regular professions, but upon this defence that the monastical life is not [5]simply contemplative, but performeth the duty either of incessant prayers and supplications, which hath been truly esteemed as an office in the church, or else of writing or taking instructions for writing concerning the law of God, as [6]Moses did when he abode so long in the

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1. *Pythagoras.* The story is told by Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* v. 3) from Heraclides Ponticus of Leo tyrant of Phlius, hot of Hiero.

2. *this theatre of man's life.* The reference is to Genesis i, where after each of the six days' work ' God saw that it was good '. Compare Essay of Great Place, para first.

3. *Pretiosa*, &c. Psalm cxvi. 15, ' precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints '.

4. *civil death*, &c. Memhers of religious orders (the regular clergy) cut themselves off from civil life.

5. *simple.* So ed. 1605 ; the editions of 1629, 1633 read ' simply.'.

6, *Moses.* Exodus xxiii.

mount. And so we see Henoch the seventh from Adam, who was the first contemplative and walked with God, yet did also endow the church with prophecy, which Saint Jude citeth. But for contemplation which should be finished in itself, without casting beams upon society, assuredly divinity knoweth it not.

Private and Public Good

Having therefore deduced the good of man which is private and particular, as far as seemeth fit, we will now return to that good of man which respecteth and beholdeth society, which we may term duty; because the term of duty is more proper to a mind well framed and disposed towards others, as the term of virtue is applied to a mind well formed and composed in itself: though neither can a man understand virtue without some relation to society, nor duty without an inward disposition. This part may seem at first to pertain to science civil and politic: but not if it be well observed. For it concerneth the regiment and government of every man over himself, and not over others. And as in architecture the direction of framing the posts, beams, and other parts of building, is not the same with the manner of joining them and erecting the building; and in mechanicals, the direction how to frame an instrument or engine, is not the same with the manner of setting it on work and employing it; and yet nevertheless in expressing of the one you [1]incidently express the aptness towards the other; so the doctrine of conjugation of men in society differeth from that of their conformity thereunto.

This part of duty is subdivided into two parts: the common duty of every man, as a member of a state; the other, the respective or social duty of every man, in his profession, vocation, and place. The first of these is extant and well laboured, as hath been said. The second likewise I may report rather dispersed than deficient; which manner of dispersed writing in this kind of argument I acknowledge to be best. For who can take upon him to write of the proper duty, virtue, challenge, and right of every several

1. *incidently*, incidentally.

vocation, profession, and place? For although sometimes a looker on may see more than a gamester, and there be a proverb more arrogant than sound, *That the vale best discovereth the hill*; yet there is small doubt but that men can write best and most really and materially in their own professions; and that the writing of speculative men [1]of active matter for the most part doth seem to men of experience, as [2]Phormio's argument of the wars seemed to Hannibal, to be but dreams and dotage. Only there is one vice which accompanieth them that write in their own professions, that they magnify them in excess. But generally it were to be wished (as that which would make learning indeed soild and fruitful) that active men would or could become writer.

The Affections

Another article of this knowledge is the inquiry touching the affections; for as in medicining of the body, [3]it is in order first to know the divers complexions and constitutions; secondly, the diseases; and lastly, the cures: so in medicining of the mind, after knowledge of the divers characters of men's natures, it followeth in order to know the diseases and infirmities of the mind, which are no other than the perturbations and distempers of the affections. For as the ancient [4]politiques in popular estates were wont to compare the people to the sea, and the orators to the winds; because as the sea would of itself be calm and quiet, if the winds did not move and trouble it; so the people would be peaceable and tractable, if the seditious orators did not set them in working and agitation: so it may be fitly said, that the mind in the nature thereof would be temperate and stayed,

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1. *of active matter*, concerning subjects of active life.

2. *Phormio*. Cicero, *De Orat*. ii. 18. 75. Catulus tells how Phormio the Peripatetic lectured Hannibal on the art of war, and Hannibal thought him the maddest man he had seen.

3. *it is in order*, i.e. the order is.

4. *politiques*, statesmen. Cf. Demosthenes, *On the Embassy*, § 136: the people is the most unstable thing in the world and the most incalable, inconstant as a wave of the sea, stirred by every chance wind.

if the affections, as winds, did not put it into tumult and perturbation. And here again I find strange, as before, that Aristotle should have written divers volumes of Ethics, and never handled the affections, which is the principal subject thereof; and yet in his Rhetorics, where they are considered but collaterally and in a second degree (as they may be moved by speech), he findeth place for them, and handleth them well for the quantity; but where their true place is, he pretermitteth them. Far it is not his disputations about pleasure and pain that can satisfy this inquiry, no more than he that should generally handle the nature of light can be said to handle the nature of colours; for pleasure and pain are to the particular affections, as light is to particular colours. Better travails, I suppose, had the Stoics taken in this argument, as far as I can gather by that which we have at second hand. But yet it is like it was after their manner, rather in subtilty of definitions (which in a subject of this nature are but curiosities), than in active and ample descriptions and observations. So likewise I find some particular writings of an elegant nature, touching some of the affections; as of anger, of comfort upon adverse accidents, of tenderness of countenance, and other. But the poets and writers of histories are the best doctors of this knowledge; where we may find painted forth with great life, how affections are kindled and incited; and how pacified and refrained; and how again contained from act and further degree; how they disclose themselves; how they work; how they vary; how they gather and fortify; how they are enwrapped one within another; and how they do fight and encounter one with another; and other the like particularities. Amongst the which this last is of special use in moral and civil matters; how, I say, to set affection against affection, and to master one by another; even as we use to hunt beast with beast, and fly bird with bird, which otherwise percase we could not so easily recover: upon which foundation is erected that excellent use of [1]*praemium* and *poena*, whereby civil states consist: employing the predominant affections of fear and hope, for the suppressing and bridling the rest. For as in the government

1. *praemium* and *poena*, reward and punishment.

of states it is sometimes necessary to bridle one faction with another, so it is in the government within.

The Good Hours of the Mind

But there is a kind of culture of the mind that seemeth yet more accurate and elaborate than the rest, and is built upon this ground; that the minds of all men are at some times in a state more perfect, and at other times in a state more depraved. The purpose therefore of this practice is to fix and cherish the good hours of the mind, and to obliterate and take forth the evil. The fixing of the good hath been practised by two means, vows or constant resolutions, and observances or exercises; which are not to be regarded so much in themselves, as because they keep the mind in continual obedience. The obliteration of the evil hath been practised by two means, some kind of redemption or expiration of that which is past, and an inception or account [1]*de novo* for the time to come. But this part seemeth sacred and religious, and justly; for all good moral philosophy (as was said) is but an handmaid to religion.

Wherefore we will conclude with that last point, which is of all other means the most compendious and summary, and again, the most noble and effectual to the reducing of the mind unto virtue and good estate; which is, the electing and propounding unto a man's self good and virtuous ends of his life, such as may be in a reasonable sort within his compass to attain. For if these two things be supposed, that a man set before him honest and good ends, and again, that he be resolute, constant, and true unto them; it will follow that he shall mould himself into all virtue at once. And this is indeed like the work of nature; whereas the other course is like the work of the hand. For as when a carver makes an image, he shapes only that part whereupon he worketh; as if he be upon the face, that part which shall be the body is but a rude stone still, till such times as he comes to it. But contrariwise when nature makes a flower or living creature, she formeth rudiments

1. *de novo*, making a fresh start.

of all the parts at one time. So in obtaining virtue by habit, while a man practiseth temperance, he doth not profit much to fortitude, nor the like: but he when he dedicateth and applieth himself to good ends, look, what virtue soever the pursuit and passage towards those ends doth commend unto him, he is invested of a precedent disposition to conform himself thereunto. [1]Which state of mind Aristotle doth excellently express himself, that it ought not to be called virtuous, but divine: his words are these: *Immanitati autem consentaneum est opponere eam, quae supra humanitatem est, heroicam sive divinam virtutem;* and a little after, *Nam ut ferae neque vitium neque virtus est, sic neque Dei; sed hic quidem status altius quiddam virtute est ille aliud quiddam a vitio.* And therefore we may see what celsitude of honour [2]Plinius Secundus attributeth to Trajan in his funeral oration? where he said, *That men needed to make no other prayers to the gods, but that they would continue as good lords to them as Trajan had been*; as if he had not been only an imitation of divine nature, but a pattern of it. But these be heathen and profane passages, having but a shadow of that divine state of mind, which religion and the holy faith doth conduct men unto, by imprinting upon their souls charity, which is excellently called the [3]bond of perfection, because it comprehendeth and fasteneth all virtues together. And as it is elegantly said by [4]Menander of vain love, which is but a false imitation of divine love,

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1. *Which state of mind*, i.e., concerning which state of mind. Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.* vii. 1. 1. 'But for the opposite of the brutal character it would be most appropriate to take the excellence which is beyond us—the excellence of a hero or a god . . . . For just as neither virtue nor vice belongs to a brute, so does neither belong to a god; to the latter belongs something higher than virtue, to the former something specifically different from vice.' (Peters.)

2. Pliny, *Paneg.* c. 74; not a funeral oration, but delivered at the beginning of the reign of Trajan, who survived Pliny.

3. *bond of perfection*, Colossians iii. 14.

4. *Menander*, not Menander, but Anaxandrides (Ellis). See Meineke, *Graec. Com. Frag.* iii. 199:

Amor melior Sophista laevo ad humanam vitam, that love teacheth a man to carry himself better than the sophist or preceptor, which he calleth left-handed, because, with all his rules and [1]preceptions, he cannot form a man so [2]dexteriously, no with that facility to prize himself and govern himself, as love can do: so certainly, if a man's mind be truly inflamed with charity, it doth work him suddenly into greater perfection than all the doctrine of morality can do, which is but a sophist in comparison of the other. Nay further, as Xenophon observed truly, that all other affections, though they raise the mind, yet they do it by distorting and uncomeliness of ecstasies or excesses; but only love doth exalt the mind, and nevertheless at the same instant doth settle and compose it: so, in all other excellencies, though they advance nature, yet they are subject to excess. Only charity admitteth no excess. For so we see, aspiring to be like God in power, the angels transgressed and fell; [3]*Ascendam, et ero similis altissimo*: by aspiring to be like God in knowledge, man transgressed and fell; [4]*Eritis sicut Dii, scientes bonum et malum*: but by aspiring to a similitude of God in goodness or love, neither man nor angel ever transgressed, or shall transgress.

To prevail in Fortune

Wherein it may appear at the first a new and unwonted argument to teach men how to raise and make their fortune; a doctrine wherein every man perchance will be ready to yield himself a disciple till he see the difficulty: for fortune layeth as heavy impositions as virtue; and it is as hard and severe a thing to be a true politique, as to be truly moral. But the handling hereof concerneth learning greatly, both in honour and in substance. In honour, [5]because pragmatical men may not go away with an opinion that learning is like a lark, that can mount, and sing, and please

1. *preceptions*, precepts.
2. *dexteriously*. Bacon uses also the form 'dexterously'.
3. *Ascendam*, &c. Isaiah xiv. 14.
4. *Eritis*, &c. Genesis iii. 5.
5. *because*, in order that; *pragmatical men*, men of affairs.

herself, and nothing else; but may know that she holdeth as well of the hawk, that can soar aloft, and can also descend and strike upon the prey. In substance, because it is the perfect law of inquiry of truth, that nothing be in [1]the globe of matter, which should not be likewise in the globe of crystal, or [2]form; that is, that there be not anything in being and action, which should not be drawn and collected in contemplation and doctrine. Neither doth learning admire or esteem of this architecture of fortune, otherwise than as of an inferior work: for no man's fortune can be an end worthy of his being; and many times the worthiest men do abandon their fortune willingly for better respects: but nevertheless fortune as an organ of virtue and merit deserveth the consideration.

First therefore the precept which I conceive to be most summary towards the prevailing in fortune, is to obtain that window which [3]Momus did require: who seeing in the frame of man's heart such angles and recesses, found fault there was not a window to look into them; that is, to procure good informations of particulars touching persons, their natures, their desires and ends, their customs and fashions, their helps and advantages, and whereby they chiefly stand: so again their weaknesses and disadvantages, and where they lie most open and obnoxious; their friends, factions, dependences; and again their opposites, enviers, competitors, their moods and times, [4]*Sola viri molles aditus et tempora noras*; their principles, rules, and observations, and the like: and this not only of persons, but of action; what are on foot from time to time, and how they are conducted, favoured, opposed, and how they import, and the

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1. *the globe of crystal.* Cf. II, ed. Aldis Wright, p. 249: 'For so it is expressed in the scriptures touching the government of God, that this globe, which seemeth to us a dark and shady body, is in the view of God as crystal': see Revelation iv. 6.

2. *form*, the true nature or law of a theory. Cf. Fowler, Introtion to *Nov. Org.* § 8.

3. *Momus.* Lucian, *Hermotim.* 20.

4. *Sola*, &c. 'Thou only knewest the tender ways and hours of access to the man' (Rhoades). Virgil, *Aen*, iv. 423.

like. For the knowledge of present action is not only material in itself, but without it also the knowledge of persons is very erroneous : for men change with the actions ; and whiles they are in pursuit they are one, and when they return to their nature they are another.

Knowledge of Men

But to all this part of inquiry the most compendious way resteth in three things : the first, to have general acquaintance and [1]inwardness with those which have general acquaintance and look most into the world ; and specially according to the diversity of business, and the diversity of persons, to have privacy and conversation with some one friend at least which is perfect and well intelligenced in every several kind. The second is to keep a good [2]modiocrity in liberty of speech and secrecy; in most things liberty : secrecy where it importeth ; for liberty of speech inviteth and provoketh liberty to be used again, and so bringeth much to a man's knowledge ; and secrecy on the other side induceth trust and inwardness. The last is the reducing of a man's self to this watchful and serene habit, as to make account and purpose, in every conference and action, as well to observe as to act. For as Epictetus would have a philosopher in every particular action to say to himself, *Et hoc volo, et etiam institutum servare* ; so a politic man in everything should say to himself, [3]*Et hoc volo, ac etiam aliquid addiscere*. I have stayed the longer upon this precept of obtaining good information, because it is a main part by itself, which answereth to all the rest. But, above all things, caution must be taken that men have a good stay and hold of themselves, and that this much knowing do not draw on much meddling ; for nothing is more unfortunate than light and rash intermeddling in many matters. So that this variety of knowledge tendeth

1. *inwardness*, intimacy.

2. *mediocrity*, mean, or middle course.

3. *Et hoc volo*, &c., 'I want to do this and I want to keep my will (in harmony with nature)'. 'I want to do this and also to learn something new'. Epictetus, *Manual* 4.

in inclusion but only to this, to make a better and freer choice of those actions which may concern us, and to conduct them with the less error and the more dexterity.

The Proportion of Things

Another precept of this architecture of fortune is to accustom our minds to judge of the proportion or value of things, as they conduce and are material to our particular ends : and that to do substantially, and not superficially. For we shall find the logical part (as I may term it) of some men's minds good, but the mathematical part erroneous ; that is they can well judge of consequences, but not [1]of proportions and comparison, preferring things of show and sense before things of substance and effect. So some fall in love with access to princes others with popular fame and applause, supposing they are things of great purchase, when in many cases they are but matters of envy, peril, and impediment. So some measure things according to the labour and difficulty or assiduity which are spent about them ; and think, if they be ever moving, that they must needs advance and proceed ; as [2]Caesar saith in a despising manner of Cato the second, when he describeth how laborious and indefatigable he was to no great purpose, *Haec omnia magno studio agebat*. So in most things men are ready to abuse themselves in thinking the greatest means to be best, when it should be the fittest.

As for the true marshalling of men's pursuits towards their fortune, as they are more or less material, I hold them to stand thus. First the amendment of their own minds. For the remove of the impediments of the mind will sooner clear the passages of fortune, than the obtaining fortune will remove the impediments of the mind. In the second place I set down wealth and means ; which I know most men would have placed first, because of the general use which it beareth towards all variety of occasions. But that opinion I may condemn with like reason as Machiavel doth

1. *of proportions*, of the relative values of things.

2. *Caesar. Bell. Civ.* i. 30 : ' All this he did with great zeal.'

that other, that moneys were the [1]sinews of the wars; whereas (saith he) the true sinews of the wars are the sinews of men's arms, that is valiant, populous, and military nation and he voucheth aptly the authority of Solon, who when Croesus showed him his treasury of gold, said to him that if another came that had better iron, he would be master of his gold. In like manner it may be truly affirmed, that it is not moneys that are sinews of fortune, but it is the sinews and steel of men's minds, wit, courage, audacity, resolution, temper, industry, and the like. In the third place I set down reputation, because of the peremptory tides and currents it hath; which, if they be not taken in their due time, are seldom recovered, it being extreme hard to play [2]an after game of reputation. And lastly I place honour, which is more easily won by any of the other three, much more by all, than any of them can be purchased by honour. To conclude this precept, as there is order and priority in matter, so is there in time, the preposterous placing whereof is one of the commonest errors: while men fly to their ends where they should intend their beginnings, and do not take things in order of time as they come on, but marshal them according to greatness and not according to instance; not observing the good precept, [3]*Quod nunc instat agamus*.

The Prelude Ended

Thus have I concluded this portion of learning touching civil knowledge; and with civil knowledge have concluded human philosophy; and with human philosophy, philosophy in general. And being now at some pause, looking back into that I have passed through, this writing seemeth

1. *sinews of* the *wars*. Cf. Essay XXIX, p. 80, 33 foll. and note. In Diog. Laert, iv. 48 'wealth is the sinews of action', is quoted as a saying of Bion's. Cf. Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, iv. 218—21.

2. *an after game*, to recover it when it has lost ground.

3. *Quod nunc instat agamus*, 'let us about our business'. Virgil, *Ecl*. ix. 66.

to me ([1]*si nunquam fallit imago*), as far as a man can judge of his own work, not much better than that noise or sound which musicians make while they are in tuning their instruments, which is nothing pleasant to hear, but yet is a cause why the music is sweeter afterwards. So have I been content to tune the instruments of the Muses, that they may play that have better hands. And surely, when I set before me the condition of these times, in which learning hath made her third visitation or circuit in all the qualities thereof; as the excellency and vivacity of the wits of this age; the noble helps and lights which we have by the travails of ancient writers; the art of printing which communicateth books to men of all fortunes; the openness of the world by navigation, which hath disclosed multitudes of experiments, and a mass of natural history; the leisure wherewith these times abound, not employing men so generally in civil business, as the states of Grecia did, in respect of their popularity, and the state of Rome, in respect of the greatness of their monarchy; the present disposition of these times at this instant to peace; the consumption of all that ever can be said in controversies of religion, which have so much diverted men from other sciences; the perfection of your Majesty's learning, which as a phoenix may call whole vollies of wits to follow you and the inseparable propriety of time, which is ever more and more to disclose truth; I cannot but be raised to this persuasion that this third period of time will for far surpass that of the Grecian and Roman learning: [2]only if men will know their own strength, and their own weakness both; and take, one from the other, light of invention, and not fire of contradiction; and esteem of the inquisition of truth as of an enterprise, and not as of a quality or ornament; and employ wit and magnificence to things of worth and excellency, and not to things vulgar and of popular estimation. As for my labours, if any man shall please himself or others in the reprehension of them, they shall make that ancient and

1. *si nunquam fallit imago*, 'if the image never deceives'. Virgil, *Ecl.* ii. 27.

2. *only if*, i.e. if only.

patient request, [1]*Verbera, sed audi*; let men reprehend them [2]so they observe and weigh them. For the appeal is lawful (though it may be it shall not be needful) from the first cogitations of men to their second, and from the nearer times to the times further off.

1. *Verbera, sed audi*, 'Strike, but hear', said by Themistocles to Eurybiades.

2. *so*, provided that.

THE NEW ATLANTIS

(AN EXTRACT)

by

FRANCIS BACON

NEW ATLANTIS

Introduction

At the age of 16 when Bacon was in the Cambridge as a student, the philosophy of Aristotle was reduced to a set logic at the hands of the Scholmen. He found it useless and unsatisfactory. According to him the prevalent philosophy was not beneficial for mankind. Bacon, the boy-student had realized that the end of intellectual training was not to split hair in disputations but to master the secrets of Nature and wrest from her all that she could contribute to the comforts of humanity. Study of Aristotle had nothing to do in extending man's command over Nature. Therefore, he being a utilitarian, discarded it.

As a matter of fact he had realized at the early stage of his life that his mission was to render service to man. Ultimately he found no other nobler pursuit than to work and discover the development of arts and inventions. So Bacon wrote the *Advancement of Learning* and published it in 1605. "He wanted to impress upon his generation, as a very practical matter, all that knowledge might do in wise hands, all that knowledge had lost by the faults and errors of man and the misfortunes of time, all that knowledge might be pushed to in all directions by faithful and patient industry and well-planned methods for the elevation and benefit of man in his highest capacities as well as in his humblest" (Spedding).

In 1607 Bacon stated in a Latin tract *Cogitata et Visa* for the advancement of knowledge. The method by which his new induction was to proceed is given below in the words of Dr. Abbott :—

"As regards the practice of the new Art we must (1) complete a refutation of the past; (2) having freed our

minds from old theories, opinions and common notions, we must approach particular phenomena afresh, without bias and with the innocent eye of a child; (3) we must accumulate a "forest" or store of particulars sufficient for our purposes, partly from natural history, partly (and principally) from experiments; (4) this store must be so tabulated and reduced to order that the intellectual may be able to act on it (for even the Divine Word did not act on chaos without order); (5) from these tabulated particulars we must ascend to general 'comprehensions'; (6) here we must avoid the natural but dangerous temptation to pass at once to the highest 'comprehensions', the so-called "principles". To these we must gradually ascend by a logical "ladder" beginning from the meanest comprehension; (7) we must discover a form of Induction leading us to a general conclusion in such a way that we may actually demonstrate the impossibility of finding a contradictory instance; (8) no "comprehension" can be received and approved till it has given bail for itself by pointing out for us new particulars beyond and beside those from which it was itself deduced".

A memoranda prepared by Bacon in 1608 reveals that Bacon wanted to write a history of marvels, *i.e.*, of nature erring or varying from her usual course. Another history containing observations and experiments of all mechanical arts he also thought as essential. But such histories could not be obtained from anywhere. Nor it was possible without the "command of wits and pens." So he himself planned a "Laying (scheme) for a place to command wytts and penns. West Minister, Eton, Wynchester spec-[ially] Trinity College in Cambridge, St. Jhons in Camb, Maudlin College in Oxford."

At last the scheme for Research College which he had conceived 15 years before with a set purpose, he brought out under the title of the *New Atlantis*.

His Aim and Art in the New Atlantis: In the *New Atlantis* Bacon has outlined a college of research with the framework of a story. It is not a dry sketch. "Bacon's formal treaties", as Dean Church has said, "are constantly

coming on some bright touch of his incorrigible imaginativeness, ever ready to force itself in the amid the driest details of his arguments, and here (in the *New Atlantis*) when he shrines his teaching in a fiction, his imagination and command of rich and lofty language have full play."

In drawing the picture of his college and of the happy land which reaped the fruit of it, Bacon naturally had as his models previous imaginary pictures of Ideal States and communities, beginning with Plato's *Republic*.

In this Island, about 1900 years before the events of Bacon's story, flourished a King Solamona who " had a large heart inscrutable for good", and was wholly bent to make his kingdom and people happy. This king, while devising law to prevent strangers from visiting the Island and to prevent the Islanders generally from travelling abroad, at the same time endeavoured to secure the advantages of foreign intercourse without its drawbacks, by means of an institution called Salomon's House. This House, established for the " study of the works and creatures of God", *i.e.*, as we should say, for scientific research, had as one of its appointed means of gaining knowledge, the sending out every 12 years of two 'missions' or companies of investigators to foreign countries. But besides this he had an army of men engaged at home in collecting natural facts from observations and experiments, and deducing inferences and higher and higher laws from the facts collected. And they were supplied with every kind of apparatus necessary to their several tasks."

The spirit that animated the whole was the love of man and the honouring of God. We are told that the father of Salomon's House " had an aspect as if he pitied Men." Bacon would have us therefore look on the pursuit of knowledge as something like a religious service. In Dean Church's words, " Doubtless it was one of Bacon's highest hopes that from the growth of true knowledge would follow, in surprising ways, the relief of man's estate; this as an end, runs through all his yearning after a fuller and surer method of interpreting Nature. The desire to be a great benefactor, the spirit of sympathy, and pity for man-

kind, reign through this portion of his work—pity for confidence so greatly abused by the teachers of man, pity for ignorance which might be dispelled, pity for pain and misery which might be relieved." Salomon's House, with all its orderly schemes for promoting discoveries and extending knowledge, was the creation of Bacon's own mind, the thought over which he had brooded since his youth. His description of the social institutions of the Island owed something to the idealists who had preceded him, especially perhaps to Sir Thomas More.

One difference between the Utopia of Bacon and that of More is pointed out by Mr. Jowell. He says that "the external state which Bacon attributes to the Governor of Salomon's House, whose dress he minutely describes, to Sir Thomas More, such external trappings appear simply ridiculous." The difference is characteristic of the importance attached by Bacon to state and splendour in human life and generally of the more conservative and aristocratic tone of Bacon's mind as compared with More's. In the intellectual sphere Bacon was a reformer and idealist, in the social and political spheres, a conservative and conformist.

Bacon shows throughout the piece that he was master of the artifices necessary to give a sense of reality to a fiction. How natural is the opening ! No introduction, no account of the persons spoken of ; merely "Wee sayled from Peru". The narrator never tells us in what relation he stood to his fellow-voyagers. Yet it comes out incidentally, that he was in command. There is an insistence on little points of detail which forces on us a conviction of the truth of the experiences described. The parchment "somewhat yellower than our own parchment", the scales of Cherubins' wings "not spread but hanging downwards", the exactness in regard to numbers, the 37 years since the last arrival of strangers, the 13 persons only that had chosen to return, the use of unknown terms such as *Taratan*, *Karan*, these are the touches of a masterhand of fiction. Dr. Abbott has well said :

"The earlier part of the fragment, describing the landing of certain voyagers on the before unknown Island called

New Atlantis and their first impression of the natives, dwells in a very interesting way on the qualities which Bacon appears to have rated highest in every nation and perhaps to have regretted most as being absent from his own. The main characteristics of the Atlantis citizens is *orderliness*. They are orderly and seemly alike in their pleasures and in their tasks; their enjoyments are sober, their splendour is tasteful; a due division of labour and of the results of labour diffuses a universal contentment; they are humane, courteous and systematically liberal to strangers. Special stress is laid on the incorruptibility of all officials, who accompany their rejection of gifts with the saying that they refused to be "twice paid".

"Bacon is always at his best in prayers, prefaces, thanks giving and dreamy descriptions of what he is intending to do. ......An oriental love of colour pervads the book; Hebrews and Helerews words and Hebrews customs play a prominent part in it; and no language less dignified than Spanish is tolerated in its pages. Rich, majestic pomp, sage and solemn ceremonies; a recognition of degrees, ranks and orders in the State as being appointed by God and necessary for the happiness of man; a religion that combines the charity and breadth of the New Testaments with something of the more earthly and material thoughts and ritual of the old; an exaltation of material wealth, comfort and prosperity, as being the natural results of a devout pursuit of science in an orderly and religious country—such are the salient features of this most interesting fragment. Bacon has put into it perhaps more of his own self, his tastes, his preferences, his ideals than into any other of his writings"

Mr. Spedding Bacon's most learned editor and biographer also writes of the *New Atlantis* with a similarly warm appreciation of its artistic charm —

"To us, who can no longer hope for the fruits which Bacon expected, the *New Atlantis* is chiefly interesting as a record of his own feelings. Perhaps there is no single work of his which has so much of himself as in it. The description of Salomon's House is the description of the

vision in which he lived—the vision not of an ideal world released from the natural conditions to which ours is the subject, but of our own world as it might be made if we did our duty by it; of a state of things which he believed would one day be actually seen upon this earth such as it is by men such as we are; and the coming of which he believed that his own labours were sensibly hastening. The account of the manners and customs of the people of Bensalem is an account of his own taste in humanity.; for man's ideal, though not necessarily a description of what he is, is almost always an indication of what he would be; and in the sober piety, the serious cheerfulness, the tender and gracious courtesy, the open-handed hospitality, the fidelity in public and chastity in private life, the grave and graceful manners, the order, decency, and earnest industry, which prevail among their people, we recognize an image of himself made perfect,—of that condition of the human soul which he loved in others, and aspired towards in himself. Even the dresses, the household arrangements, the order of their feasts and solemnities, their very gesture of welcome and solution, have an interest and significance independent of the fiction, as so many records of Bacon's personal taste in such matters. Nor ought the stories which the Governor of the House of Strangers tells about the state of navigation and population in the early *past* diluvian ages, to be regarded merely as romances invented to vary and enrich the narrative, but rather belonging to a class of serious speculations to which Bacon's mind was prone. As in his visions of the future embodied in the achievements of Salomon's House, there is nothing which he did not conceive to be really practicable by the means which he supposes to be used; so in his speculations, concerning the past, embodied in the traditions of Bensalem, I doubt whether there be any (setting aside, of course, the particular history of the fabulous island) which he did not believe to be historically probable".

"Among the few works of fiction which Bacon attempted, the *New Atlantis* is much the most considerable, which gives an additional interest to it and makes one

the more regret that it was not finished according to the original design. Had it proceeded to the end in manner worthy of the beginning, it would have stood, as a work of art, among the most perfect compositions of its kind"

Macaulay says of the description of Salomon House: "there is not to be found in any human composition a passage more eminently distinguished by profound and serene wisdom".

Referring to the aims of Bacon enshrined in the *New Atlantis*, Max Patrick says —

"Bacon fired the imagination of his reader. Instead of a cold institute for co-operative Scientific Research, he painted a romantic Salomon's House on the island continent of a *New Atlantis*,—thus associating his grand design with Salomon in his glory and wisdom, with the magnificence of the legendary civilization described by Plato, and with the fascination of a mysterious island remote beyond uncharted seas. So Bacon roused his countrymen to awareness of the possibilities of co-operative research, applied science, and organized learning. His was the greatest influence in the creation of what is known as The Scientific Movement. The work of Palissy, Harvey, Gilbert and most other scientists, contemporary with Bacon, was little noted by ordinary 'cultivated Englishmen, though Galileo was to some extent an exception'. Bacon composed the *New Atlantis* in the vernacular so that it appealed to men of power and influence, and to a still wider public of intelligent readers : he helped to focus their attention, their leisure time, and their unattached hopes upon science. He inspired those who would probably have ignored science to become gentlemen amateurs in it, to favour the Royal Society ; and in time his writings made the whole Western world conscious of the potentialities, achievements, and progress of science ; he proved that utopianism need not be mere escapism, and the precedent of his own devotion to science gave it respectability and dignity.

Obviously Bacon realized that his imaginary country could not be imitated in all respects, for example its geography, history and isolation could not be duplicated by

Britain. As a matter of fact, relatively few utopias are intended to be literally copied : most of them are propounded not as goals of perfection but as norms by which readers can juge their own societies and discover some means of bettering them. It is foolish and futile to assume that the inventors of fictitious Commonwealths believed them to be ideal or to waste time in searching for flaws and inconsistencies in their accounts".

What features of this Utopia are Desirable and Realizable ? : The features of the *New Atlantis* which Bacon hoped could be paralleled or approximated in England included respect for the dignity of the individual, calm courteousness in human relations and careful attention to hygiene, paternalism, piety, religious toleration, and reverence for the family : unfolded in this order, they take up three quarters of the book. Their basis is the maximum utilization of available resources of men, ideas, and materials under the paternalistic guidance of men whose intelligences are disciplined and whose sense of moral and social respectability has been highly developed. All this has been made possible in a capitalistic society by benevolent, state-supported scientific research and its results. But Bacon did not suffer from the delusion that the inventions which he lists near the end of his work—approximations or anticipations of telephone submarines, aeroplanes and the like—would automatically bring about the moral and social regeneration of mankind. He did recognize that if men adhered to Christianity and with the best institutions and traditions of the past and also organized their talent so as to understand and control Nature and themselves by means of science, in obedience to its laws, they would have prosperity and happiness, strength and health. Though he has not said explicitly he seems to have realized that materialistic achievement was not enough by itself ; bathroom gadgets, automobiles, television sets and atom bombs do not ensure happiness and decency. Bacon graphically showed that scientific and technological progress was desirable and practicable : but he devoted the major portion of the *New Atlantis* to safeguards, preventives and correctives which

would prevent the intensive development and application of science from becoming a sort of idol which would warp men's lives and thinking; hence his emphasis on the balancing and restraining factors—religion, home, philanthropy, responsibility and charity.

THE STRANGER'S HOUSE

The Stranger's House is a fair and spacious-house, built of brick of somewhat a bluer colour than our brick; and with handsome windows, some of glass, some of a kind of [1]cambric oiled. He brought us first into a fair parlour above stairs, and then asked us what number of persons we were? and how many sick? We answered, we were in all (sick and whole) one and fifty persons, whereof our sick were seventeen. He desired us to have patience a little, and to say till he came back to us, which was about an hour after; and then he led us to see the chambers which were provided for us, being in number nineteen. They having [2]cast it (as it seemeth) that four of those chambers, which were better than the rest, might receive four of the principal men of our company; and lodge them alone by themselves; and the other fifty chambers were to lodge us, two and two together. The chambers were handsome and cheerful chambers, and furnished [3]civilly. Then he led us to a long gallery, like a [4]dorture, where he showed us all along the one side (for the other side was but wall and window) seventeen cells, very neat ones, having partitions of cedar wood. Which gallery and cells, being in all forty (many more than we needed), were instituted as an infirmary for sick persons. And he told us withal, that as any of our sick waxed well, he might be removed from his cell to a chamber: for which purpose there were set forth ten spare chambers, besides the number we spake of before. This done, he brought us

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1. *cambric.* When glass was an expensive luxury, as in the Middle Ages, this was a common substitute.

2. *cast it*, reckoned. Cf. 'to cast up accounts'.

3. *civilly*, soberly, without ostentation.

4. *dorture*, dormitory; also spelt *dortour*, *dorter*.

back to the parlour, and lifting up his cane a little (as they do when they give any charge or command), said to us, 'Ye are to know that the custom of the land requireth, that after this day and to-morrow (which we give you for removing your people from your ship), you are to keep within doors for three days. But let it not trouble you, nor do not think yourselves restrained, but rather left to your ease and rest. You shall want nothing, and there are six of our people appointed to attend you for any business you may have abroad.' We gave him thanks with all affection and respect, and said, 'God surely is manifested in this land.' We offered him also twenty pistolets; but he smiled, and only said, 'What? twice paid!' And so he left us.

Soon after our dinner was served in; which was right good viands, both for bread and meat: better than any collegiate diet that I have known in Europe. We had also drink of three sorts, all wholesome and good; wine of the grape; a drink of grain, such as is with us our ale, but more clear; and a kind of cider made of a fruit of that country; a wonderful pleasing and refreshing drink. Besides, there were brought in to us great store of those scarlet oranges for our sick; which (they said) were an assured remedy for sickness taken at sea. There was given us also a box of small grey or whitish pills, which they wished our sick should take, one of the pills every night before sleep; which (they said) would hasten their recovery.

The next day, after that our trouble of carriage and removing of our men and goods out of our ship was somewhat settled and quiet, I thought good to call our company together, and when they were assembled, said unto them, 'My dear friends, let us know ourselves and how it standeth with us. We are men cast on land, as Jonas was out of the whale's belly, when we were as buried in the deep; and now we are on land, we are but between death and life, for we are beyond both the Old World and the New; and whether ever we shall see Europe, God only knoweth. It is a kind of miracle hath brought us either, and it must be little less that shall bring us hence. Therefore in regard of our deliverance past, and our danger present and to come, let us look up to God, and every man reform his own ways.

Besides we are come here amongst a Christian people, full of piety and humanity : let us not bring that [1]confusion of face upon ourselves, as to show our vices or unworthiness before them. Yet there is more, for they have by commandment (though in form of courtesy) cloistered us within these walls for three days : who knoweth whether it be not to take some taste of our manners and conditions ? And if they find them bad, to banish us straightways ; if good, to give us further time. For these men that they have given us for attendance, may withal have an eye upon us. Therefore, for God's love, and as we love the weal of our souls and bodies, let us so behave ourselves, as we may be at peace with God, and may find grace in the eyes of this people'. Our company with one voice thanked me for my good admonition, and promised me to live soberly and civilly, and without giving any the least occasion of offence. So we spent our three days joyfully, and without care, [2]in expectation what would be done with us when they were expired. During which time, we had every hour joy of the amendment of our sick, who thought themselves cast into some [3]divine pool of healing, they mended so [4]kindly and so fast. The morrow after our three days were past, there came to us a new man, that we had seen before, clothed in blue as the former was, save that his turban was white with a small red cross on the top. He had also a tippet of fine linen. At his coming in, he did bend to us a little, and put his arms abroad. We of our parts saluted him in a very lowly and submissive manner ; as looking that from him we should receive sentence of life or death. He desired to speak with some few of us. Whereupon six of us only stayed, and the rest [4]avoided the room. He said, 'I am by office Governor of this House of Strangers, and by vocation I am a Christian priest ; and therefore am come to you to offer you my service, both as strangers, and chiefly as

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1. *confusion of face*, shame ; a biblical phrase, as in Ezra ix. 7.
2. *in expectation*, waiting to see.
3. *divine pool*, like the pool of Bethesda, John v. 2—4.
4. *kindly*, naturally, in accordance with ' kind ' or nature.
5. *avoided*, quitted ; an obsolete use.

Christians. Some things I may tell you, which I think you will not be unwilling to hear. The State hath given you licence to stay on land for the space of six weeks: and let it not trouble you, if your occasions ask further time, for the law in this point is not precise; and I do not doubt but myself shall be able to obtain for you such further time as shall be convenient. Ye shall also understand, that the Strangers' House is at this time rich, and much [1]aforehand; for it hath laid up revenue these thirty-seven years: for so long it is since any stranger arrived in this part: and therefore take ye no care; the State will [2]defray you all the time you stay. Neither shall you stay one day the less for that. As for any merchandize ye have brought, ye shall be well used, and have your return, either in merchandize or in gold and silver: for to us it is all one. And if you have any other request to make, hide it not; for ye shall find we will not make your countenance to fall by the answer ye shall receive. Only this I must tell you, that none of you must go above a karan (that is with them a mile and a half) from the walls of the city, without especial leave'.

We answered, after we had looked a while one upon another, admiring this gracious and parent-like usage, that we could not tell what to say, for we wanted words to express our thanks; and his noble free offers left us nothing to ask. It seemed to us, that we had before us a picture of our salvation in Heaven; for we that were a while since in the jaws of death, were now brought into a place where we found nothing but consolations. For the commandment laid upon us, we would not fail to obey it, though it was impossible but our hearts should be inflamed to tread further upon this happy and holy ground. We added, that [3]our tongues should first cleave to the roofs of our mouths, ere we should forget, either his reverend person, or this whole nation, in our prayers. We also most humbly besought him to accept of us as his true servants, by as just a right as ever men on earth were bounden; laying and

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1. *aforehand*, provided for, supplied in advance.
2. *defray you*, pay your expenses.
3. *our tongues*, &c. Cf. Psalm cxxxvii. 6.

presenting both our persons and all we had at his feet. He said he was a priest, and looked for a priest's reward: which was our brotherly love, and the good of our souls and bodies. So he went from us, not without tears of tenderness in his eyes, and left us also confused with joy and kindness, saying amongst ourselves that we were come into a land of angels, which did appear to us daily, and [1]prevent us with comforts, which we thought not of, much less expected.

The next day, about ten of the clock, the Governor came to us again, and after salutations, said familiarly, that he was come to visit us; and called for a chair, and sat him down; and we, being some ten of us (the rest were of the meaner sort, or else gone abroad), sat down with him; and when were set, he began thus: 'We of this island of [2]Bensalem (for so they called it in their language) have this: that by means of our solitary situation, and of the laws of secrecy, which we have for our travellers, and our rare admission of strangers, we know well most part of the habitable world, and are ourselves unknown. Therefore because he that knoweth least is fitted to ask questions, it is more reason, [3]for the entertainment of the time, that ye ask me questions, than that I ask you.'

We answered, that we humbly thanked him, that he would give us leave so to do: and that we conceived, by the taste we had already, that there was no worldly thing on earth more worthy to be known than the state of that happy land. But above all (we said) since that we were met from the several ends of the world, and hoped assuredly that we should meet one day in the kingdom of Heaven (for that we were both part Christians), we desired to know [4](in respect that land was so remote, and so divided by vast and unknown seas from the land where our Saviour

1. *prevent us*, anticipate our needs.

2. *Bensalem*, in Hebrew 'sons of peace'.

3. *for the entertainment of the time*, so as to spend the time to advantage,

4. *in respect*, &c., considering that. Cf. *As You Like It*, 111. ii. 14: 'In respect that it is a shepherd's life, it is naught.'

walked on earth) who was the apostle of that nation, and how it was converted to the faith? It appeared in his face, that he took great contentment in this our question; he said, 'Ye knit my heart to you, by asking this question in the first place: for it showeth that you first seek the kingdom of Heaven: and I shall gladly, and briefly, satisfy your demand.

'About twenty years after the Ascension of our Saviou it came to pass, that there was seen by the people of Renfusa (a city upon the eastern coast of our island), [1]within night, (the night was cloudy and calm), as it might be some mile in the sea, a great pillar of light; not sharp, but in form of a column, or cylinder, rising from the sea, a great way up towards Heaven; and on the top of it was seen a large cross of light, more bright and resplendent than the body of the pillar. Upon which so strange a spectacle the people of the city gathered apace together upon the sands, to wonder; and so after put themselves into a number of small boats to go nearer to this marvellous sight. But when the boats were come within about sixty yards of the pillar they found themselves all bound, and could go no further, yet so as they might move to go about, but might not approach nearer: so as the boats stood all [2]as in a theatre, beholding this light, as an heavenly sign. It so fell out, that there was in one of the boats one of our wise men, of [3]the society of Salomon's House; which house or college, my good brethren, is the very eye of this kingdom, who having a while attentively and devoutly viewed and contemplated this pillar and cross, fell down upon his face; and then raised himself upon his knees, and lifting up his hands to Heaven, made his prayers in this manner:

"Lord God of Heaven and Earth; Thou hast vouchsafed of Thy grace, to those of our order, to know Thy

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1. *within night*: an unusual expression; in the Latin version '*noctu*'.

2. *as in a theatre* in a semicircle, like the spectators tn a theatre.

3. *the Society of Salomon's House*: see p. 124.

works of creation, and the secrets of them ; and to [1]discern (as far as appertaineth to the generations of men) between divine miracles, works of Nature, works of art, and impostures and illusions of all sorts. I do here acknowledge and testify before this people, that the thing which we now see before our eyes is [2]Thy finger, and a true miracle. And forasmuch as we learn in our books that Thou never workest miracles, but to a divine and excellent end (for the laws of nature are Thine own laws, and thou exceedest them not but upon great cause), we most humbly beseech thee to prosper this great sign, and to give us the interpretation and use of it in mercy ; which Thou dost in some part secretly promise, by sending it unto us."

'When he had made his prayer, he presently found the boat he was immovable and unbound ; whereas all the rest remained still fast ; and taking that for an assurance of leave to approach, he caused the boat to be softly and with silence rowed towards the pillar. But ere he came near it, the pillar and cross of light broke up, and cast itself abroad as it were, into a firmament of many stars, which also vanished soon after, and there was nothing left to be seen but a small ark, or chest or cedar, dry, and not wet at all with water, though it swam. And in the fore-end of it, which was towards him, grew a small green branch of palm ; and when the wise man had taken it with all reverence into his boat, it opened of itself, and there were found in it a book and a letter, both written in fine parchment, and wrapped in [3]sindons of linen. The book contained all the [4]canonical books of the Old and New Testament, according as you have them (for we know well what the Churches with you receive), and the Apocalypse itself ; and some other books of the New Testament, which were not at that time written

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1. *disern*, distinguish.

2. *Thy finger*. Cf. Exodus viii. 19 : 'This is the finger of God.'

3. *sindons*. The *sindon* (Greek) of the ancients was a fine fabric from India (Sind). Later, the name was given to linen, or a wrapper made of it.

4. *the canonical books*, the books which form the canon or 'rule' of faith, *i.e.*, the Bible, as distinguished from various apocry

were nevertheless in the book. And for the letter, it was in these words :

"I Bartholomew, a servant of the Highest, and apostle of Jesus Christ, was warned by an angel that appeared to me in a vision of glory, that I should commit this ark to the floods of the sea. Therefore I do testify and declare unto that people where God shall ordain this ark to come to land, that in the same day is come unto them salvation and peace, and goodwill, from the Father, and from the Lord Jesus."

'There was also in both these writings, as well the book as the letter, wrought a great miracle, [1]conform to that of the apostles, in the original gift of tongues. For there being at that time, in this land, Hebrews, Persians and Indians, besides the natives, every one read upon the book and letter, as if they had been written in his own language. And thus was this land saved from infidelity (as the [2]remain of the Old Word was from water) by an ark, through the apostolical and miraculous evangelism of St. [3]Bartholomew.' And here he paused, and a messenger came, and called him forth from us. So this was all that passed in that conference.

The next day, the same Governor came again to us, immediately after dinner, and excused himself, saying, that the day before he was called from us somewhat abruptly, but now he would make us amends, and spend time with us, if we held his company and conference agreeable. We answered, that we held it so agreeable and pleasing to us, as we, forgot both dangers past, and fears to come, for the time we heard him speak ; and that we thought an hour spent with him was worth years of our former life. He bowed himself a little to us, and after we were set again, he said, 'Well, the questions are on your part.'

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1. *conform to*, similar to. See Acts ii. 1—11.

2. *remain* : formely common for 'remains', 'remnant'.

3. *Bartholomew*. It was an early belief that the twelve Apostles reached the Gospel to the principal nations of the world. St. Bartho-'mew is said to have preached in India.

One of our number said, after a little pause, that there was a matter we were no less desirous to know than fearful to ask, lest we might presume too far. But encouraged by his rare humanity towards us (that could scarce think ourselves strangers, being his vowed and professed servants), we would take the hardiness to propound it : humbly beseeching him, if he thought it not fit to be answered, that he would pardon it, though he rejected it. We said, we well observed those his words, which he formerly spake, that this happy island, where we now stood, was known to few, and yet knew most of the nations of the world, which we found to be true, considering they had the languages of Europe, and knew much of our state and business ; and yet we in Europe (notwithstanding all the remote discoveries and navigations of this last age) never heard [1]any of the least inkling or glimpse of this island. This we found wonderful strange ; for that all nations have interknowledge one of another, either by voyage into foreign parts, or by stranger that come to them ; and though the traveller into a foreign country doth commonly know more by the eye than he that stayeth at home can by relation of the traveller ; yet both ways suffice to make a mutual knowledge, in some degree, on both parts. But for this island, we never heard tell of any ship of theirs that had been seen to arrive upon any shore of Europe ; no, nor of either the East or West Indies, nor yet of any ship of any other part of the world that had made return from them. And yet the marvel rested not in this ; for the situation of it (as his lordship said) in the secret [2]conclave of such a vast sea mought cause it. But then, that they should have knowledge of the languages, books, affairs, of those that lie such a distance from them, it was a thing we could not tell what to make of ; for that it seemed to us a condition and [3]propriety of divine powers and beings, to be hidden and unseen to others, and yet to have others open, and as in a light to them.

1. *any of* : perhaps should be ' of any '.

2. *conclave* : a figurative use of the word taken from its original sense, a private room, closet.

3. *propriety*, property.

At this speech the governor gave a gracious smile and said, that we did well to ask pardon for this question we now asked, for that it imported, as if we thought this land a land of magicians, that sent forth spirits of the air into all parts, to bring them news and intelligence of other countries. It was answered by us all, in all possible humbleness, but yet with a countenance taking knowledge, that we knew he spake it but merrily; that we were apt enough to think there was somewhat supernatural in this land, but yet rather as angelical than magical. But to let his lordship know truly what it was that made us [1]tender and doubtful to ask this question, it was not any such conceit, but because we remembered he had given a [2]touch in his former speech that this land had laws of secrecy touching strangers. To this he said, 'You remember it aright; and therefore in that I shall say to you, I must reserve some particulars, which it is not lawful for me to reveal, but there will be enough left to give you satisfaction.

'You shall understand (that which perhaps you will scarce think credible) that about three thousand years ago, or somewhat more, the navigation of the world (especially for remote voyages) was greater than at this day. Do not think with yourselves, that I know not how much it is increased with you, [3]within these six-score years; I know it well, and yet I say, greater then than now; whether it was, that the example of the Ark, that saved the remnant of men from the universal deluge, gave men confidence to adventure upon the waters, or [4]what it was; but such is the truth. The Phoenicians, and specially the Tyrians, had great fleets; so had the [5]Carthaginians their colony, which

1. *tender . . . to ask*, sensitive about asking.

2. *touch*; hint.

3. *within these six-score years*: these would include the voyages of Diaz, Vasco da Gama, Columbus, and Cabot among others.

4. *what it was*, whatever was the cause.

5. *the Carthaginians*. The Tyrians are said to have founded Carthage in 813 B.C.

is yet further west. Toward the east [1]the shipping of Egypt, and of [2]Palestine, was likewise great. [3]China also, and [4]the great Atlantis (that you call America), which have now but junks and canoas, abounded then in tall ships. This island (as appeareth by faithful registers of those times) had then fifteen hundred strong ships, of great content. Of all this there is with you sparing memory, or none ; but we have large knowledge thereof.

'At that time, this land was known and frequented by the ships and vessels of all the nations before named. And (as it cometh to pass) they had many times men of other countries, that were no sailors, that came with them ; as Persians, Chaldeans, Arabians, so as almost all nations of might and fame resorted hither ; of whom we have some [5]strips and little tribes with us at this day. And for our own ships, they went sundry voyages, as well to your straits, which you call [6]the Pillars of Hercules, as to other parts in the Atlantic and Mediterranean Seas ; as to [7]Paguin (which is the same with Cambaline) and [8]Quinzy, upon the Oriental Seas, as far as to [9]the borders of the East Tartary.

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1. *the shipping of Egypt.* The ancient Egyptians were not great navigators, though from very early times their fleets sailed down the Red Sea to Somaliland, or Punt, whence they brought frankincense, myrrh, and other precious cargoes. Far their voyage round Africa see Herodotus iv. 42.

2, *Palestine.* We have no accounts of Hebrew voyages, except those undertaken by Solomon.

3. *China.* Nothing is known of the navigation of the high seas by the Chinese before the reign of the great emperor Shi Hwang-ti, 20—210 B.C.

4. *the great Atlantis* : see note on p. 137 above.

5. *stirps* : seen note on Of Nobility, first para.

6. *the Pillars of Hercules* ; the Straits of Gibraltar.

7. *Paguin*, Peking ; which, however, was never a seaport. Kublai Khan, the great Mongol emperor, rebuilt Peking in 1284, and it received the Mongolian name of Khanbalik, i.e., 'city of the Khan', spelt Cambaluc by Marco Polo, and here corrupted into Cambaline.

8. *Quinzy*, the great Chinese city now known as Hangchow, called by Marco Polo, Kinsai.

9. *the borders*, &c., the coast of Asia, north of China.

At the same time, and an age after or more, the inhabitants of the great Atlantis did flourish. For though [1]the narration and description which is made by a great man with you, that the descendants of Neptune [2]planted there, and of the magnificent temple, palace, city, and hill; and the manifold streams of goodly navigable rivers (which as so many chains environed the same site and temple); and the several [3]degrees of ascent, whereby men did climb up to the same, as if it had been a [4]Scala Caeli; be all poetical and fabulous; yet so much is true, that the said country of Atlantis, as well that of [5]Peru, then called Coya, as that of Mexico, then named [6]Tyrambel, were mighty and proud kingdoms, in arms, shipping, and riches: so mighty as at one time (or at least within the space of ten years), [7]they both made two great expeditions; [8]they of Tyrambel through the Atlantic to the Mediterranean Sea; and they of Coya, through the South Sea upon this our island; and for the former of these, which was into Europe, the same author amongst you (as it seemeth) had some relation from the Egyptian priest, whom he citeth. For assuredly such a thing there was. But whether it were the ancient Athenians that had the glory of the repulse and resistance of those forces, I can say nothing; but certain it is there never came back either ship or man from that voyage. Neither had they other voyage of those of Coya upon us had better fortune, if they had not met with enemies of greater clemency. For the king of this island, by name Altabin, a wise man and

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1. *the narration*, &c. Bacon refers to Plato's fragmentary dialogue, *Critias*.

2. *planted*, settled, founded a colony.

3. *Degrees*, steps.

4. *Scala Caeli*, a ladder of heaven, like Jacob's ladder.

5. *Peru, then called Coya*. Peru never bore the name Coya, which may be a confusion with Colla, a civilized nation overthrown by the Incas.

6. *Tyrambel*, apparently a fictitious name.

7. *they both made two*, &c., they each made an expedition.

8. *they of Tyrambel*. The account of the expedition from Atlantis to Europe is drawn from Plato's *Timaeus*.

a great warrior, knowing well both his own strength and that of his enemies, handled the matter so, as he cut off their land forces from their ships, and [1]entoiled both their navy and their camp with a greater power than theirs, both by sea and land, and compelled them to render themselvs without striking stroke ; and after they were at his mercy, contenting himself only with their oath, that they should no more bear arms against him, dismissed them all in safety. But the divine revenge overtook not long after those proud enterprises. For within less than the space of one hundred years the great Atlantis was utterly lost and destroyed ; [2]not by a great eathquake, as your man saith (for that whole tract is little subject to earthquakes), but by a particular deluge or inundation, these countries having at this day far [3]greater rivers and far [4]higher mountains to pour down waters, than any part of the Old World. But it is true that the same inundation was not deep, not past forty foot in most places from the ground, so that although it destroyed man and beast generally, yet some few wild inhabitants of the wood escaped. Birds also were saved by flying to the high trees and woods. For as for men, although they had buildings in many places higher than the depth of the water, yet that inundation, though it were shallow, had a long continuance, whereby they of the vale that were not drowned perished for want of food, and other things necessary.

[5]'So as marvel you not at the thin population of America, nor at the rudeness and ignorance of the people ; for you

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1. *entoiled*, caught in his toils, entrapped. The word is used by Keats and Browning.

2. *not by a great earthquake.* Bacon here diverges from the tradition followed by Plato, because he wishes to identify the great Atlantis with America, and he supposes, quite erroneously, that the latter is little subject to earthquakes.

3. *greater rivers.* The Mississippi and the Amazon are the two longest rivers in the world.

4. *higher mountains.* Aconcagua (23,393 ft.), the highest mountain in the Andes, is exceeded by several peaks of the Himalayas.

5. *So as*, wherefore.

must [1]account your inhabitants of America a sa young people, younger a thousand years at the least than the rest of the world, for that there was so much time between the universal flood and their particular inundation. For the poor remnant of human seed which remained in their mountains peopled the country again slowly, by little and little, and being simple and savage people (not like Noah and his sons, which was the chief family of the earth) they were not able to leave letters, arts, and [2]civility to their posterity; and having likewise in their mountainous habitations been used (in respect of the extreme cold of those regions) to cloth themselves with the skins of [3]tigers, bears and great hairy goats, that they have in those parts; when after they came down into the valley, and found the intolerable heats which are there, and knew no means of lighter apparel they were forced to begin the custom of going naked, which continueth at this day. Only they take great pride and delight in the [4]feathers of birds, and this also they took from those their ancestors of the mountains, who were invited unto it, by the infinite flight of birds that came up to the high grounds, while the waters stood below. So you see, [5]by this main accident of time, we lost our traffic with the Americans, with whom of all others, in regard they lay nearst to us, we had most commerce.

'As for the other parts of the world, it is most manifest that in the ages following (whether it were in respect of wars,

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1. *account*, &c., suggested by the saying of the Egyptian priest in Plato's *Timaeus*, 22 B, that the Greeks are a young people, because they have lost their ancient civilization.

2. *civility*, civilization.

3. *tigers*. By the tiger he probably means the jaguar, which, however, is more like a large leopard. Under the term 'goats' Bacon probably refers to the alpaca and vicuna, goat-like animals of the camel family, the hair of which has long been used by the Peruvians for weaving.

4. *feather of birds*. The use of feathers for personal adornment is characteristic of many North American peoples.

5. *by this main accident of time*, through this greatest catastrophe in history.

or by a natural revolution of time) navigation did everywhere greatly decay, and specially far voyages (the rather by the use of galleys, and such vessels as could hardly [1]brook the ocean) were altogether left and omitted. So then, that part of intercourse which could be from other nations, to sail to us, you see how it hath long since ceased; except it were by some rare accident, as this of yours. But now of the cessation of that other part of intercourse, which mought be by our sailing to other nations, I must yield you some other cause. For I cannot say, if I shall say truly, but our shipping, for number, strength, mariners, pilots, and all things that appertain to navigation, is as great as ever; and therefore why we should sit at home, I shall now give you an account by itself; and it will draw nearer, to give you satisfaction, to your principal question.

'There reigned in this island, about 1,900 years ago, a king, whose memory of all others we most adore; not superstitiously, but as a divine instrument, though a mortal man: his name was Solamona; and we esteem him as the lawgiver of our nation. This king had a large heart, [2]inscrutable for good, and was wholly bent to make his kingdom and people happy. He therefore taking into consideration how sufficient and [3]substantive this land was, to maintain itself without any aid at all of the foreigner; being 5,600 miles in circuit, and of rare fertility of soil, in the greatest part thereof; and finding also the shipping of this country mought be plentifully set on work, both by finishing and by [4]transportations from port to port, and likewise by sailing unto some small islands that are not far from us, and are under the crown and laws of this State; and recalling into his memory the happy and flourishing estate wherein this land then was, so as it mought be a thousand ways altered to the worse, but scarce any one way to the better; though nothing wanted to his noble and heroical intentions, but

1. *brook*, endure; in the Latin version '*tolerare*'.

2. *inscrutable for good*, the goodness of which could not be searched out, or fathomed. Cf. Proverbs xxv. 3.

3. *substantive*, independent, self-supporting.

4. *transportations from port to port*, coat-wise traffic.

only (as far as human foresight mought reach) to give perpetuity to that which was in his time so happily established. Therefore amongst his other fundamental laws of this kingdom he did ordain the interdicts and prohibitions which we have touching entrance of strangers; which at that time (though it was after the calamity of America) was frequent; doubting novelties and commixture of manners. It is true, the like law against the admission of strangers without licence is an [1]ancient law in the kingdom of China, and yet continued in use. But there it is a poor thing; and hath made them a curious, ignorant, fearful, foolish nation. But our lawgiver made his law of another temper. For first, he hath preserved all points of humanity, in taking order and making provision for the relief of strangers distressed; whereof you have tasted.'

At which speech (as reason was) we all rose up, and bowed ourselves. He went on:

'That king also still desiring to join humanity and policy together; and thinking it against humanity, to detain strangers here against their wills; and against policy, that they should return, and discover their knowledge of this [2]estate, he took this course: he did ordain, that of the strangers that should be permitted to land, as many (at all times) mought depart as would; but as many as would stay, should have very good conditions, and means to live from the State. Wherein he saw so far, that now in so many ages since the prohibition, we have memory not of one ship that ever returned, and but of thirteen persons only, at several times, that chose to return in our bottoms. What those few that returned may have reported abroad I know not. But you must think, whatsoever they have said, could be taken where they came but for a dream. Now for our travelling from hence into parts abroad, our lawgiver thought fit altogether to restrain it. So is it not in China. For the

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1. *an ancient law*. The Chinese Government from a very early period sought to restrict foreign settlement. This policy was abandoned by the Mongol emperors (1232—1368), but revived by the native Ming dynasty.

2. *estate*, state, body politic.

[1]Chineses sail where they will, or can; which showeth, that their law of keeping out strangers is law of pusillanimity and fear. But this restraint of ours hath one only exception which is admirable; preserving the good which cometh by communicating with strangers, and avoiding the hurt: and I will now open it to you. And here I shall seem a little to digress, but you will by and by find it pertinent.

'Ye shall understand, my dear friends, that amongst the excellent acts of that king, one above all hath the pre-eminence. It was the erection and institution of an order, or society, which we call Salomon's House; the noblest foundation, as we think, that ever was upon the earth, and the lantern of this kingdom. It is dedicated to the study of the works and [2]creatures of God. Some think it beareth the founder's name a little corrupted, as if it should be Solamona's House. But the records write it as it is spoken. So as I take it to be [3]denominate of the king of the Hebrews, which is famous with you, and no stranger to us; for we have some parts of his works which with you are lost; namely, [4]that Natural History which he wrote of all plants, from the cedar of [5]Libanus to the moss that groweth out of the wall; and of all things that have life and [6]motion. This maketh me think that our king finding himself to [7]symbolize, in many things, with that king of the Hebrews (which lived many years before him) honoured him with the title of this foundation. And I am the rather induced to be of this opinion, for that I find in ancient records, this order or society is sometimes called Salomon's House, and some-

1. *Chineses.* For this old form of the plural cf. Milton *Paradise Lost* iii. 438.

2. *creatures*, inanimate as well as animate things.

3. *denominate of*, named after.

4. *that Natural History*. Cf. 1 Kings iv. 33.

5. *Libanus*, the Latin form of the Hebrew Lebanon.

6. *mass*: the word rendered *hyssop* in 1 Kings iv. 33 denotes some unknown herb, evidently very small.

7. *symbolize . . . with*, correspond to, agree with. The account of Solamona perhaps alludes to James I, who was called by his flatterers the British Solomon, on account of his learning and pacific policy. Bacon himself repeatedly compares him with the Hebrew king.

times the College of the Six Days' Works; whereby I am satisfied that our excellent king had learned from the Hebrews that God had created the world, and all that therein is, within six days: and therefore he instituting that house, for the finding out of the true nature of all things (whereby God mought have the more glory in the workmanship of them, and men the more fruit in the use of them), did give it also that second name.

'But now to come to our present purpose. When the king had forbidden to all his people navigation into any part that was not under his crown, he made nevertheless this ordinance: that every twelve years there should be set forth out of this kingdom two ships, appointed to several voyages; that in either of these ships there should be a mission of three of the fellows or brethren of Salomon's House, whose errand was only to give us knowledge of the affairs and state of those countries to which they were designed; and especially of the sciences, arts manufactures, and [1]inventions of all the world; and withal to bring unto us books, instruments, and patterns of every kind; that the ships, after they had landed the brethren, should return; and that the brethren should stay abroad till the new mission. These ships are not otherwise fraught than with store of victuals, and good quantity of treasure to remain with the brethren, for the buying of such things, and rewarding of such persons, as they should think fit. Now for me to tell you how the vulgar sort of mariners are [2]contained from being discovered at land, and how they that must be put on shore for any time, [3]colour themselves under the names of other nations, and to what places these voyages have been designed, and what places of rendezvous are appointed for the new missions, and the like circumstances of the practice. I may not do it, neither is it much to your desire. But thus you see we maintain a trade, not for gold, silver, or jewels, nor for silks, nor for spices, nor any other commodity of matter; but only for God's first creature,

1. *inventions*, including 'discoveries'.
2. *contained*, prevented; Properly, held back, restrained.
3. *Colour themselves*, disguise themselves.

which was light : to have light, I say, of the growth of all parts of the world.'

Salomon's House

I will impart unto thee, for the love of God and men, a relation of the true state of Salomon's House. Son, to make you know the true state of Salomon's House, I will keep this order. First, I will set forth unto you the end of our foundation. Secondly, the preparations and instruments we have for our works. Thirdly, the several employments and functions whereto our fellows are assigned. And fourthly, the ordinances and rites which we observe.

'The end of our foundation is the knowledge of causes, and secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire, to the effecting of all things possible.

'The preparations and instruments are these. We have large and deep caves of several depths: the deepest are sunk six hundred fathoms; and some of them are digged and made under great hills and mountains; so that if you reckon together the depth of the hill, and the depths of the cave, they are, some of them, above three miles deep. For we find that [1]the depth of a hill, and the depth of a cave from the flat, is the same thing; both remote alike from the sun and heaven's beams, and from the open air. These caves we call the lower region, and we use them for all [2]coagulations, indurations, refrigerations, and conservations of bodies. We use them likewise for the imitation of natural mines, and the producing also of new artificial metals, by

1. *the depth of a hill*, &c. It makes no difference to the physical effects whether the cave is at the bottom of a shaft in a plain, or at the end of a tunnel under a hill.

2. *coagulations, indurations*, cases or kinds of coagulation, and of hardening or solidification. This use of abstract nouns in the plural rare in modern English, is common in Bacon.

Bacon is not altogether wrong in regarding precious stones as 'coagulations'. Real though minute diamonds were formed by the French chemist Moissan about 1890 by liquefying carbon dissolved in molten iron under enormous pressure, and suddenly cooling it.

compositions and materials which we use, and lay there for many years. We use them also sometimes (which may seem strange) for curing of some diseases, and for prolongation of life, in some hermits that choose to live there, well accommodated of all things necessary, and indeed live very long ; by whom also we learn many things.

'We have burials in several earths, where we put divers cements, [1]as the Chineses do their porcelain. But we have them in greater variety, and some of them more fine. We also have great variety of [2]composts and soils, for the making of the earth fruitful.

'We have high towers, the highest about half a mile in height, and some of them likewise set upon high mountains, so that the vantage of the hill, with the tower, is in the highest of them three miles at least. And these places we call the upper region, accounting the air between the high places and the low as a middle region. We use these towers, according to their several heights and situations, for [3]insolation, refrigeration, conservation, and for the view of divers meteors—as winds, rain, snow, hail ; and some of the fiery [4]meteors also. And upon them, in some places are dwellings of hermits, whom we visit sometimes, and instruct what to observe.

'We have great lakes, both salt and fresh, whereof we have use for the fish and fowl. We use them also for burials of some natural bodies, for we find a difference in things buried in earth, or in air below the earth, and things buried in water. We have also pools, of which some do strain fresh water out of salt, and others by art do turn fresh water into salt. We have also some rocks in the midst of the sea, and some bays upon the shore for some works, wherein is

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1. *as the Chineses do their porcelain.* Chinese porcelain, which was known in England as early as 1506, excited great wonder, as its composition was unknown.

2. *composts*, prepared manures.

3. *insolation*, exposure to the sun.

4. *meteors* : in the original sense of the word, including all phenomena of the air. Cf. *meteorology*.

required the air and vapour of the sea. We have likewise violent streams and cataracts, which serve us for many motions; and likewise engines for multiplying and [1]enforcing of winds to set also [2]on going divers motions.

'We have also a number of artificial wells and fountains, made in imitation of the natural sources and baths, as [3]tincted upon vitriol, sulphur, steel, [4]brass lead, nitre, and other minerals ; and again, we have little wells for infusions of many things, where the waters take the virtue quicker and better than in vessels or basins. And amongst them we have a water, which we call [5]Water of Paradise, being by that we do it made very sovereign for health and prolongation of life.

'We have also great and spacious houses, where we imitate and demonstrate meteors—as snow, hail, rain, some artificial rains of [6]bodies, and not of water, thunders, lightnings ; also [7]generations of bodies in air—as frogs, flies, and divers others.

'We have also certain chambers, which we call chambers of health, where we qualify the air as we think good and proper for the cure of divers diseases, and preservation of health.

'We have also fair and large baths, of several mixtures, for the cure of diseases, and the restoring of man's body from arefaction ; and others for the confirming of it in strength of sinews, vital parts, and the very juice and substance of body.

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1. *enforcing* intensifying.

2. *on going*, in motion ; *motions*, pieces of mechanism: cf. 1st para of Knowledge and Private Virtue.

3. *tincted upon*, impregnated with, containing a tincture of.

4. *brass*, perhaps here used for copper, as in Deuteronomy viii. 9 (A.V.) : 'Out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass'.

5. *Water of Paradise.* Bacon devoted much attention to the problem of prolonging life.

6. *bodies*, solids : e.g., sand and volcanic dust.

7. *generations of bodies in air* : a widespread belief in Bacon's time.

'We have also large and various orchards and gardens, wherein we do not so much respect beauty as variety of ground and soil, proper for divers trees and herbs, and some very spacious, where trees and berries are set, whereof we make divers kinds of drinks, besides the vineyards. In these we practise likewise all [1]conclusions of grafting and [2]inoculating, as well of wild-trees as fruit-trees, which produceth many effects. And we make by art, in the same orchards and gardens, trees and flowers, to come earlier or later than their seasons, and to come up and bear more speedily than by their natural course they do. We make them also by art greater much than their nature; and their fruit greater and sweeter, and of differing taste, smell, colour, and figure, from their nature. And many of them we so order as they become of medicinal use.

'We have also means to make divers plants rise by mixtures of earths without seeds, and likewise to make divers new plants, differing from the vulgar, and to make one tree or plant turn into another.

'We have also parks, and enclosures of all sorts, of beasts and birds; which we use not only for view or rareness, but likewise for dissections and trials, that thereby we may [3]take light what may be wrought upon the body of man. Wherein we find many strange effects: as continuing life in them, though divers parts, which you account vital, be perished and taken forth; resuscitating of some that seem dead in appearance, and the like. We try also all poisons, and other medicines upon them, as well of chirurgery as physic. By art likewise we make them greater or taller than their [4]kind is, and contrariwise dwarf them and stay their growth; we make them more fruitful and bearing

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1. *conclusions*, experiments: obsolete, except in the phrase 'to try conclusions with'.

2. *inoculating*, budding.

3. *take light*, gain enlightenment. Vivisection was rarely practised in and before Bacon's time.

4. *kind*, nature.

than their kind is, and contrariwise barren and not generative......

'We have also engine-houses, where are prepared engines and instruments for all sorts of motions. There we imitate and practise to make swifter motions than any you have, either out of your muskets or any engine that you have and to make them and multiply them more easily and with small force, by wheels and other means, and to make them stronger and more violent than yours are, exceeding your greatest cannons and [1]basilisks. We represent also ordnance and instruments of war and engines of all kinds; and likewise new mixtures and compositions of gunpowder, wild-fires burning in water and unquenchable, also fireworks of all variety, both for pleasure and use. We imitate also flights of birds; we have some degrees of flying in the air. We have [2]ships and boats for going under water and [3]brooking of seas, also swimming-girdles and supporters. We have divers curious clocks, and other like [4]motions of return, and some perpetual motions. We imitate also motions of living creatures by images of men, beasts, birds, fishes, and serpents; we have also a great number of other various motions, strange for equality, fineness, and subtilty.

'We have also a mathematical-house, where are represented all instruments, as well of geometry as astronomy, exquisitely made.

'We have also houses of deceits of the senses, where we represent all manner of feats of juggling, false apparitions, impostures and illusions, [5]and their fallacies. And surely

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1. *basilisks* a kind of large cannon, named from the fabulous serpent of that name.

2. *ships and boats for going under water*. John Napier of Merchiston the famous mathematician, announced in 1596, when a Spanish invasion was feared, various military inventions, including 'devices of sailing under the water'. The modern submarine dates from about 1887.

3. *brooing of seas*, i.e., resisting the force of the waves.

4. *motions of return*, machines depending on any regularly recurring or cyclical movement.

5. *and their fallacies*: the object appears to be to arm men against imposture and quackery.

you will easily believe that we, that have so many things truly natural which induce admiration, could in a world of particulars deceive the senses if we would disguise those things, and labour to make them seem more miraculous. But we do hate all impostures and lies, insomuch as we have severely forbidden it to all our fellows, under pain of ignominy and fines, that they do not show any natural work or thing adorned or swelling, but only pure as it is, and without all affection of strangeness.

'These are, my son, the riches of Salomon's House.

'For the several employments and offices of our fellows, we have twelve that sail into foreign countries under the names of other nations (for our own we conceal), who bring us the books and abstracts, and patterns of experiments of all other parts. These we call Merchants of Light.

'We have three that collect the experiments which are in all books. These we call Depredators.

'We have three that collect the experiments of all mechanical arts, and also of liberal sciences, and also of [1]practices which are not brought into arts. These we call [2]Mystery-men.

'We have three that try new experiments, such as themselves think good. These we call Pioneers of Miners.

'We have three that [3]draw the experiments of former four into titles and tables, to give the better light for the drawing of observations and axioms out of them. These we call Compilers.

'We have three that [4]bend themselves, looking into the experiments of their fellows, and cast about how to draw

1. *practices which are not brought into arts*, such processes as are carried on in a rude unmethodical manner.

2. *Mystery-men.* The word *mystery*, in the sense of an art or craft, is the Middle English *mistere*, from Old French *mestier* (Mod. French *metier*), from Latin *ministerium*, service. The functions of 'Merchants of Light', 'Depredatours' and 'Mystery-Men' are in part fulfilled by the editors of scientific year-books and other periodicals.

3. *draw . . . into into titles*, arrange under heads, classify.

4. *bend themselves*, apply themselves.

out of them things of use and practice for man's life and knowledge, as well for works as for plain demonstration of causes, means of [1]natural divinations, and the easy and clear discovery of the virtues and parts of bodies. These we call dowry-men or Benefactors.

'Then after divers meetings and [2]consults of our whole number, to consider of the former labours and collections, we have three that take care out of them to direct new experiments, of a higher light, more penetrating into Nature than the former. These we call Lamps.

'We have three others that do execute the experiments so directed, and report them. These we call [3]Inoculators.

'Lastly, we have three that raise the former discoveries by experiment into greater observations, axioms, and aphorisms. These we call [4]Interpreters of Nature.

'We have also, as you must think, novices and apprentices, that the succession of the former employed men do not fail; besides a great number of servants and attendants, men and women. And this we do also: we have consultations which of the inventions and experiences which we have discovered shall be published, and which not: and take all an oath of secrecy for the concealing of those which we think fit to keep secret: though some of those we do reveal to the State, and some not.

'For our ordinances and rites, we have two very long and fair galleries: in one of these we place patterns and samples of all manner of the more rare and excellent inventions: in the other we place the statuas of all principal inventors. There we have the statua of your Columbus,

1. *natural divinations*, means of discovering the secrets of Nature, without preternatural aid.

2. *consults*, consultations.

3. *Inoculators*, literally, persons who bud trees.

4. *Interpreters*. The *Novum Organum* opens with the words, Homo, naturae minister et interpres' 'man, the servant and interpreter of nature'.

that discovered [1]the West Indies: also the inventor of ships : [2]your Monk that was the inventor of ordnance and of gunpowder : the inventor of music : the inventor of letters : the inventor of printing : the inventor of observations of astronomy : the inventor of works in metal : the inventor of glass : the inventor of silk of the worm : the inventor of wine : the inventor of corn and bread : the inventor of [3]sugars : and all these by more certain tradition than you have. Then we have divers inventors of our own, of excellent works, which since you have not seen, it were too long to make descriptions of them ; and besides in the right understanding of those descriptions you might easily err. For upon every invention of value we erect a statua to the inventor, and give him a liberal and honourable reward. These statuas are some of brass, some of marble and [4]touchstone, some of cedar and other special woods gilt and adorned ; some of iron, some of silver, some of gold.

'We have certain hymns and services, which we say daily, of loud and thanks to God for his marvellous works. And forms of prayer, imploring His aid and blessing for the illumination of our labours, and the turning of them into good and holy uses.

'Lastly, we have circuits or visits, of divers principal cities of the kingdom ; where, as it cometh to pass, we do publish such new profitable inventions as we think good. And we do also declare natural divinations of diseases, plagues, swarms of hurtful creatures, scarcity, tempests,

1. *the West Indies*, used originally not only of the islands, but of North and South America. The name is due to the idea that the discoveverers had reached eastern Asia.

2. *your Monk*. This may refer either to Roger Bacon or to Berthold Schwarz, both of whom, however, were Franciscan friars.

3. *sugars*. Cane sugar was the only kind known in Bacon's time. He probably uses the plural to include any similar sweet substances.

4. *touchstone*, fine-grained dark hard schist, or jasper, used for testing gold and silver alloys. It would be difficult to use it for statues.

earthquakes, great inundations, comets, [1]temperature of the year, and divers other things ; and we give counsel thereupon, what the people shall do for the prevention and remedy of them.

And when he had said this he stood up ; and I, as I had been taught, knelt down ; and he laid his right hand upon my head, and said, 'God bless thee, my son, and God bless this relation which I have made. I give thee leave to publish it, for the good of other nations ; for we here are in God's bosom a land unknown.' And so he left me ; having assigned a value of about two thousand ducats for a bounty to me and my fellows. For they give great largesses, where they come, upon all occasions.

1. *temperature*, not merely the amount of heat but of moisture as well ; properly ' mixture ' or ' composition '.

THE HISTORIE

OF THE RAIGNE

OF KING

HENRY

The Seventh.

Written

By the Right Honourable

FRANCIS

Lord *Verulam*, Viscount

St. Alban.

The rest was not perfected

HISTORY OF HENRY VII

Introduction

Bacon wanted to write biographies in order to do justice to the achievements of the past generations. "I do find it strange", he wrote in the *Advancement of Learning*... that "the writing of lives should be no more frequent". He commenced various stories of the Tudors and wrote brief sketches of Julius and Augustus Caesar, but it was only the *History of the Reign of King Henry VII* which he could brought to completion. He wrote it soon after his release from the Tower in 1621. Some critics are of the view that Bacon took this step simply to please the king. But he himself refutes this charge. He says in his prefatory letter, "I have not flattered him but took him to life as well, as I could, sitting so far off and having no better light." Mr. Spedding, his celebrated critic also acknowledges the truth of this statement. In fact Bacon wrote the history of the grandfather of the king as he regarded him "one of the most efficient kings of all the members". His time deserved treatment and his accomplishments merited recognition, "for he was a wise man, and an excellent king."

In the art of historiography, he is perhaps the first who wrote history on the modern lines. Before him there was a general decline in the field of this art. Some monastic chronicles which existed before had been uncritical and bare outlines having no touch of life and authenticity. Moreover, they recorded the fictitious and conventional lives of saints. Their authors had to do nothing with the dark side of their characters. They idealized them as angels. Bacon whose mind was given over to the habit of scientific analysis of anything, applied the inductive method in the writing of history and revolutionized the

domain of this art as well. Unlike his predecessors he does idealize his characters. They emerge out of his pages as living men and women made of flesh and blood. They might be angelic in some respects but are not immune from human vices in the others. For instance, Bacon delineates Henry VII as a noble but as dexterous politician who accomplished worthy goals but lacked magnanimity. Similarly again referring to his character he says : "He was indeed full of apprehensions and suspicions...Had he been a private man he would have been termed proud." At another place referring the attitude of the king towards his mother, Bacon comments : "His mother he reverenced much, heard little". This is only one aspect of the matter in his characterization.

The other aspect of king's character is represented in the following words : "He was tender in the privilege of sanctuaries though they wrought him much mischief. He built and enflowed many religious foundations, besides his memorable hospital of the Savoy : and yet he was a great almsgiver in secret : which shewed that his works in public were dedicated rather to God's glory than his own."

So we see that Bacon takes the stock of the whole situation. No doubt, he seems to have somewhat inclined in praising the king, yet the fact remains that it was he who broke the new grounds in the art of historiography. He is perhaps never emotional in depicting his characters.

The whole biography is couched in a continued narrative. The language runs with ease and force in illuminating the vivid details here and there such as the story of how the royal monkey tore up the royal note-book. Although some incidental details are over-worked yet the accuracy of historical facts seems to be based upon careful research. That is why George Saintsbury has praised Bacon for his erudication and maintenance of historical data.

Another critic points out that the long imaginary speeches which Bacon puts in the mouths of his characters at once grace and nor the value of his history. But whatever the case may be, he has explored and represented the facts in such a way that his method of writing history remains a significant contribution to the rise of the modern historiography.

In his *Critical History of English Literature* David Daiches comments upon this book thus : "Bacon's History of the Reign of King Henry VII (1622) is a conscious study of the King's policy in the light of which he is able to give an integrated picture of the events of his reign. The work shows Bacon's interest in statecraft, his political and legal knowledge, his command of the effective narrative and expository style, and historico-phychological imagination which enabled him to put imaginary speeches into the mouths of his characters in the manner of classical historians".

CHARACTER OF KING HENRY VII

This King (to speak of him in terms equal to his deserving) was one of the best sort of wonders; a wonder for wise men. He had parts (both in his virtues and his fortune) not so [1]fit for a common-place as for observation. Certainly he was religious both in his affection and observance. But as he could see clear (for those times) through superstition; so he would be blinded now and then by human policy. He advanced churchmen. He was tender in the privilege of sanctuaries, though they wrought him much mischief. He built and endowed many religious foundations, besides his memorable hospital of the [2]Savoy: and yet was he a great almsgiver in secret; which shewed that his works in public were dedicated rather to God's glory than his own. He professed always to love and seek peace; and it was his usual preface in his treaties, that when Christ came into the world peace was sung, and when he went out of the world, peace was bequeathed. And this virtue could not proceed out of fear or softness, for he was valiant and active; and therefore no doubt it was truly Christian and moral. Yet he knew the way to peace was not to seem to be desirous to avoid wars. Therefore would he make offers and fames of wars, till he had mended the conditions of peace. It was also much, that one that was so great a lover of peace should be so happy in war. For his arms, either in

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1. *fit for a common-place*, easily reduced to a formula, typical, a *locus communis* being an observation that will cover a number of cases; *fit for observation*, requiring examination and careful study.

2. *Sovy*, built by Peter, Earl of Savoy, uncle to Eleanor the wife of Henry III, destroyed by the Kentish rebels in 1381, and rebuilt as a hospital by Henry VII about 1509.

foreign or civil wars, were never infortunate, neither did he know what a disaster meant. The war of his coming in, and the rebellions of the [1]Earl of Lincoln and the [2]Lord Audley, were ended by victory. The wars of France and Scotland by peaces sought at his hands. That of [3]Brittaine by accident of the Duke's death. The insurrection of the [4]Lord Lovell, and that of Perkin at Exeter and in Kent, by flight of the rebels before they came to blows. So that his fortune of arms was still inviolate. The rather sure, for that in the quenching of the commotions of his subjects he ever went in person: sometimes reserving himself to back and second his lieutenants, but ever in action. And yet that was not merely forwardness, but partly distrust of others.

He did much maintain and countenance his laws; which (nevertheless) was no impediment to him to work his will. For it was so handled that neither prerogative nor profit went to diminution. And yet as he would sometimes strain up his laws to his prerogative, so would he also let down his prerogative to his Parliament. For mint and wars and martial discipline (things of absolute power) he would nevertheless bring to Parliament. Justice was well administered in his time, save where the King was party; save also that the counsel-table interfered too much with *meum* and *tuum*. For it was a very court of justice during his time, especially in the beginning. But in that part both of justice and policy which is the durable part, and cut as it were in brass or marble, which is the making of good laws, he did excel. And with his justice he was also a

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1. *Earl of Lincoln*, supporter of Lambert Simnel, slain at Stoke in 1487.

2. *Lord Audley*, supporter of Perkin Warbeck and leader of the Cornish rebels, captured at Blackheath in 1497 and beheaded.

3. *Brittaine*. The last Duke, Francis, was killed at the battle of St. Aubin in 1481. His wife Anne afterwards married Charles VIII of France.

4. *Lord Lovell*, attained 1485, rose against Henry in 1486; he fought at Stoke in 1487.

merciful prince: as in whose time there were but three of the nobility that suffered; the [1]Earl of Warwick, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord Audley, though the first two were [2]instead of numbers in the dislike and obloquy of the people. But there were never so great rebellions expiated with so little blood drawn by the hand of justice, as the two rebellions of Blackheath and Exeter. As for the severity used upon those which were taken in Kent, it was but a scum of people. His pardons went ever both before and after his sword. But then he had withal a strange kind of interchanging of large and inexpected pardons with severe executions: which, his wisdom considered, could not be imputed to any inconstancy or inequality, but either to some reason which we do not now know, or to a principle he had set unto himself, that he would vary, and try both ways in turn. But the less blood he drew the more he took of treasure: and as some construed it, he was the more sparing in the one that he might be the more pressing in the other; for both would have been intolerable. Of nature assuredly he coveted to accumulate treasure, and was a little poor in admiring riches. The people (into whom there is infused for the preservation of monarchies a natural desire to [3]dischage their princes, though it be with the unjust charge of their counsellors and ministers) did impute this unto Cardinal Morton and Sir Reginald Bray, who as it after appeared (as counsellors of ancient authority wth him) did so second his humours, as nevertheless they did temper them. Whereas Empson and Dudley that followed, being persons that had no reputation with him otherwise than by the servile following of his bent, did not give way only (as the first did) but shape him way to those extremities for which himself was touched with remorse at his death; and which his successor renounced, and sought to purge. This excess of his had at that time many glosses

1. Edward, *Earl of Warwick*, son of George, Duke of Clarence, was unjustly executed in 1501, for sharing in Perkin Warbeck's attempt to escape from the Tower.

2. *instead of numbers*, equivalent to a number of people.

3. *disharge*, relieve from responsibility.

and interpretations. Some thought the continual rebellions wherewith he had been vexed had made him grow to hate his people: some thought it was done to pull down their stomachs and keep them low: some, for that he would leave his son [1]a golden fleece, some suspected he had some high design upon foreign parts. But those perhaps shall come nearest the truth that fetch not their reasons so far off, but rather impute it to nature, age, peace and a mind fixed upon no other ambition or pursuit: whereunto I should add, that having every day occasion to take notice of the necessities and shifts for money of other great Princes abroad, it did the better by comparison set off to him the felicity of full coffers. As to his expending of treasure, he never spared charge which his affairs required: and in his buildings was magnificent, but his rewards were very limited. So that his liberality was rather upon his own state and memory than upon the deserts of others. He was of an high mind and loved his own will and his own way; as one that revered himself and would reign indeed. Had he been a private man he would have been termed proud: but in a wise Prince, it was but keeping of distance; which indeed he did towards all; not admitting any near or full approach either to his power or to his secrets. For he was governed by none. [2]His Queen (notwithstanding she had presented him with divers children; and with a crown also, though he would not acknowledge it) could do nothing with him. [3]His mother he reverenced much, heard little. For any person agreeable to him for society (such as was Hastings to King Edward the Fourth, or Charles Brandon after to King Henry the Eighth), he had none;

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1. *a golden fleece*, the order of the Golden Fleece instituted by Philip of Burgundy in 1429. One of the most famous Knightly Orders in Europe, it exercised great influence first under the Dukes of Burgundy and then under the Hapsburgs. There were only twenty-four members, and places in the order were much coveted. Prince Henry was made a member in 1506.

2. *His Queen*, Elizabeth of York, the eldest daughter of Edward IV.

3. *His mother*, Margaret Beaufort, great grand-daughter of John, Duke of Lancaster.

except we should account for such persons [1]Foxe and Bray and Empson, because they were so much with him. But it was but as the instrument is much with the workman. He had nothing in him of vain-glory, but yet kept state and majesty to the height; being sensible that majesty maketh the people bow, but vain-glory boweth to them.

To his confederates abroad he was constant and just but not open. But rather such was his inquiry and such his closeness, as they stood in the light towards him, and he stood in the dark to them; yet without [2]strangeness, but with a semblance of mutual communication of affairs. As for little envies of emulations upon foreign princes (which are frequent with many kings), he had never any: but went substantially to his own business. Certain it is that though his reputation was great at home, yet it was greater abroad. For foreigners that could not see the passages of affairs, but made their judgments upon the issues of them, not that he was ever in strife and ever aloft. It grew also from the [3]airs which the princes and states abroad received from their ambassadors and agents here, which were attending the court in great number, whom he did not only content with courtesy, reward and privateness, but (upon such conferences as passed with them) put them in admiration to find his universal insight into the affairs of the word, which though he did such chiefly from themselves, yet that which he had gathered from them all seemed [4]admirable to every one. So that they did write ever to their superiors in high terms concerning his wisdom and art of rule. Nay when they were returned, they did commonly maintain intelligence with him, such a dexterity he had to impropriate to himself all foreign instruments.

He was careful and liberal to obtain good intelligence from all parts abroad, wherein he did not only use his

1. *Foxe*, Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester.
2. *strangeness*, appearance of unfriendliness.
3. *airs*, confidential information.
4. *admirable*, wonderful.

interest in the [1]liegers here, and his pensioners which he had both in the court of Rome and other the Courts of Christendom, but the industry and vigilancy of his own ambassadors in foreign parts. For which purpose his instructions were ever extreme, curious and articulate, and in them more articles touching inquisition than touching negotiation: requiring likewise from his ambassadors an answer, in particular distinct articles, respectively to his questions.

As for his secret spials which he did employ both at home and abroad, by them to discover what parties and conspiracies were against him, surely his case required it, he had such moles perpetually working and [2]casting to undermine him. Neither can it be reprehended, for if spials be lawful against lawful enemies, much more against conspirators and traitors. But indeed to give them credence by oaths or curses, that cannot be well maintained, for those are too holy vestments for a disguise. Yet surely there was this further good in his employing of these [3]flies and familiars; that as the use of them was cause that many conspiracies were revealed, so the fame and suspicion of them kept (no doubt) many conspiracies from being attempted.

Towards his Queen he was nothing uxorious; nor scarce indulgent; but companiable and respective, and without jealousy. Towards his children he was full of paternal affection, careful of their education, aspiring to their high advancement, regular to see that they should not want of any due honour and respect, but not greatly willing to cast any popular lustre upon them.

To his counsel he did refer much, and sat oft in person; knowing it to be the way to assist his power and inform his judgment, in which respect also he was fairly patient of liberty both of advice and of vote, till himself were declared.

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1. *liegers*, resident ambassadors.

2. *casting*, contriving.

3. *flies*, spies; cf. Fr. *mouche*.

He kept a strait hand on his nobility, and chose rather to advance clergymen and lawyers, which were more obsequious to him, but had less interest in the people; which made for his absoluteness but not for his safety. Insomuch as I am persuaded it was one of the causes of his troublesome reign. For that his nobles, though they were loyal and obedient, yet did not co-operate with him, but let every man go his own way. He was not afraid of an able man, as Lewis the Eleventh was. But contrariwise he was served by the ablest men that then were to be found; without which his affairs could not have prospered as they did. For war, Bedford, Oxford, Surrey, Dawbeny, Brooke, Poynings. For other affairs, Morton, Foxe, Bray, the Prior of Lanthony, Warham, Urswick, Hussey, Forwick, and others. Neither did he care how cunning they were that he did employ: for he thought himself to have the master-reach. And as he chose well, so he held them up well. For it is a strange thing, that though he were a dark prince and infinitely suspicious, and his times full of secret conspiracies and troubles, yet in twenty-four years reign he never put down or discomposed counsellor or near servant, save only Stanley the Lord Chamberlain. As for the disposition of his subjects in general towards him, it stood thus with him, that of the three affections which naturally tie the hearts of the subjects to their sovereign,—love, fear, and reverence,—he had the last in height, the second in good measure, and so little of the first as he was beholding to the other two.

He was a Prince, sad, serious, and full of thoughts and secret observations, and full of notes and memorials of his own hand, especially touching persons; as whom to employ, whom to reward, whom to inquire of, whom to beware of, what were the [1]dependencies, what were the factions, and the like; keeping (as it were) a journal of his thoughts. There is to this day a merry tale, that his monkey (set on as it was thought by one of his chamber) tore his principal note-book all to pieces, when by chance it lay forth. Whereat the court which liked not those pensive accounts was almost tickled with sport.

1. *dependencies*, groups of people dependent on this or that prince or noble.

He was indeed full of apprehensions and suspicions. But as he did easily take them, so he did easily check them and master them; whereby they were not dangerous, but troubled himself more than others. It is true his thoughts were so many, as they could not well always stand together; but that which did good one way did hurt another. Neither did he at some times weigh them aright in their proportions. Certainly that rumour which did him so much mischief (that the Duke of York should be saved and alive) was (at the first) of his own nourishing, because he would have more reason not to reign in the right of his wife. He was affable, and both well and fair spoken, and would use strange sweetness and blandishments of words, where he desired to effect or persuade anything that he took to heart. He was rather studious than learned, reading most books that were of any worth, in the French tongue. Yet he understood the Latin, as appeareth in that [1]Cardinal Hadrian and others, who could very well have written French, did use to write to him in Latin.

For his pleasures, there is no news of them. And yet by his instructions to [2]Marsin and Stile touching the Queen of Naples, it seemeth he could interrogate well touching beauty. He did by pleasures as great princes do by banquets, come and look a little upon them, and turn away. For never Prince was more wholly given to his affairs, nor in them more of himself, insomuch as in triumphs of justs and tourneys and balls and masks (which they then called disguises) he was rather a princely and gentle spectator than seemed much to be delighted.

No doubt, in him as in all men (and most of all in kings) his fortune wrought upon his nature, and his nature upon his fortune. He attained to the crown, not only from a private fortune, which might endow him with moderation but also from the fortune of an exiled man, which had

1. *Cardinal Hadrian*, Adrian de Castello, English Ambassador at Rome and Bishop of Bath and Wells.

2. Francis *Marsin* and John *Stile* were sent in 1504 on commissions of inquiry about the young widowed Queen of Naples, whom Henry, himself a widower, then thought of marrying.

quickened in him all seeds of observation and industry. And his times being rather prosperous than calm, had raise his confidence by success, but almost marred his nature by troubles. His wisdom, by often evading from perils, was turned rather into a dexterity to deliver himself from dangers when they pressed him, than into a providence to prevent and remove them afar off. And even in nature, the sight of his mind was like some sights of eyes, rather strong at hand than to carry afar off. For his wit increased upon the occasion, and so much the more if the occasion were sharpened by danger. Again whether it were the shortness of his foresight or the strength of his will, or the dazzling of his suspicions, or what it was, certain it is that the perpetual troubles of his fortunes (there being no more matter out of which they grew) could not have been without some great defects and main errors in his nature, customs and proceedings, which he had enough to do to save and help with a thousand little industries and [1]watches. But those do best appear in the story itself. Yet take him with all his defects, if a man should compare him with the kings his concurrents in France and Spain, he shall find him more politic than Lewis the Twelfth of France, and more entire and sincere than Ferdinando of Spain. But if you shall change Lewis the Twelfth for Lewis the Eleventh, who lived a little before, then the [2]consort is more perfect. For that Lewis the Eleventh, Ferdinando, and Henry, may be esteemed for the [3]*tres magi* of kings of those ages. To conclude, if this King did no greater matters, it was [4]long of himself, for what he minded he compassed.

He was a comely personage, a little above [5]just stature, well and straight limbed, but slender. His countenance was reverend and a little like a churchman: and as it was not strange or dark, so neither was it winning or pleasing.

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1. *watches*, precautions.
2. *consort*. concert, agreement.
3. *tres magi*, the Three Wise Men.
4. *long of*. along of, because of.
5. *just*, regular, normal.

but as the face of one well disposed. But it was to the disadvantage of the painter, for it was best when he spake.

His worth may bear a tale or two, that may put upon him somewhat that may seem divine. When the Lady Margaret his mother had divers great suitors for marriage, she dreamed one night that one in the likeness of a bishop in pontifical habit did tender her Edmund Earl of Richmond (the King's father) for her husband. Neither had she ever any child but the king, though she had three husbands. One day when King Henry the Sixth (whose innocency gave him holiness) was washing his hands at a great feast, and cast his eye upon King Henry, then a young youth, he said : 'this is the lad that shall possess quietly that that we now strive for.' But that that was truly divine in him, was that he had the fortune of a true Christian as well as of a great king, in living exercised and dying repentant. So as he had an happy warfare in both conflicts, both of sin and the cross.

He was born at Pembroke Castle, and lieth buried at Westminster in one of the stateliest and daintiest monuments of Europe both for the chapel and for the sepulchre. So that he dwelleth more richly dead, in the monument of his tomb, than he did alive in Richmond or any of his palaces. I could wish he did the like in this monument of his fame.

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1. *Margaret Beaufort*, the great benefactress of Oxford and Cambridge Universities, married (1) Edmund Tudor, (2) Henry Stafford, (3) Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby.